

**LOCATING SCOTLAND'S ORDINARY FOLK, among the lesser
known sources for social and family history research c.1630-c.1790.**

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CONTENTS

CONTENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	v
DECLARATION	vi
FIGURES & TABLES	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	viii
ABBREVIATIONS & CONVENTIONS	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
1. SOURCES: Likely to include Scotland's subtenants, cottars and other ordinary folk, - Outlined.	8
Wrigley et al, methods considered.	8.
Church records.	11
Covenants.	16
Estate Papers.	16
The various Court records:	18
National and local taxation records.	31
Webster, and the Old Statistical Account.	34
Other published sources.	35
Conclusions.	36
2. THE PEOPLE OF AUCHTERGAVEN: Continuity and change.	40
Murthly Castle Muniments and the c.1650 list of parishoners.	43
Rural changes.	56
Auchtergaven's Obney district.	59
Stanley Mill and village.	63
Dissent.	73
Conclusions.	74

3. ARGYLL ESTATE AND TIREE.	75
Earl of Argyll's horning of 1675.	79
Tiree, seventeenth century.	87
Argyll Estates, eighteenth century.	88
Tiree, eighteenth century.	92
Conclusions.	104
4. IDENTIFYING THE URBAN TENANTS AND OTHERS.	107
St Cuthberts or West Kirk - a potential study area.	110
Edinburgh's sub-parishes and local Tax boundaries.	124
St Cuthberts eighteenth century study material.	127
Edinburgh's sub-parishes as population study areas.	132
Conclusions.	139
5. THE SCOTTISH STUDY AREAS COMPARED.	142
Auchtergaven.	144
Argyll Estates.	151
The Urban study areas.	162
St Cuthberts and Edinburgh.	164
Sex ratios and migration.	170
Scottish studies summarised.	174
6. COMPARISONS WITH OTHER FINDINGS PERTAINING TO BRITAIN.	176
Tiers of authority.	182
Population comparisons.	183
Family structures.	192
Economic and legal factors.	202
Britain's poor.	211
Conclusions.	214

7. COMPARISONS WITH OTHER FINDINGS PERTAINING TO EUROPE.	219
Agriculture and debt.	223
Households and family structure.	225
The Church.	228
The mobile and displaced.	231
Poor relief	234
Population comparisons.	236
Economic factors.	240
Opportunities, the political debates.	243
Emigration, revolution, Brenner.	250
Conclusions.	255
8. CONCLUSIONS.	259
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	275
APPENDIX I. Inhabitants of Auchtergaven c.1650.	289
APPENDIX II. Inhabitants of the Obnies & Muirhedstown 1791.	317
APPENDIX III. Earl of Argyll's Horning of 1675.	322
APPENDIX IV. St. Cuthberts' Examination Rolls c.1635.	338
APPENDIX V. St Cuthberts' Teinds Valuation 1628-30.	388
APPENDIX VI. Edinburgh's North- West, North 1 Tax District c 1635.	392
APPENDIX VII. Edinburgh's North-West, North 1 Tax District 1752.	407

ABSTRACT

Social historians often discuss and endeavour to examine the social levels of Scotland's early modern society, but without the church records there is scant evidence of the subtenantry who made up the vast majority of the population. Parish registers do not exist for most of Scotland prior to the 1690s, therefore to obtain an indication of what social levels may have been like in our c.1630 to c.1790 study period, this work sets out to show how a patchwork of obscure sources can still be utilised to formulate some conclusions, in at least three geographically contrasting study areas.

With a north western area on the highland line and a planned mill village in the southeast, Auchtergaven in Perthshire may reflect Scotland in miniature. Listings of inhabitants for c.1650 and 1790 located in the Murthly Castle Muniments provide useful information. Auchtergaven adopted the new farming methods, but seventeenth to eighteenth century comparisons with the Argyll Estate records show only parts of Argyll saw similar changes. In Tiree and the north and west one finds a totally different country and culture, where agricultural improvements were either resisted or simply ignored. The persistence of subsisting shared tenancies there were a significant contrast from events in Auchtergaven.

The data for Edinburgh and its subparishes shows that, as in Auchtergaven, by the end of the study period there was an increase in the tenant or owner-occupying class and a decrease in subtenantry numbers. But exact figures for the latter are clouded by the awareness in our Scottish comparisons of an issue equally pressing in England. This being those excluded from sources utilised hitherto for population studies, primarily because they did not possess the right to reside in the location surveyed.

Also in Europe, the right to inclusion and welfare depended upon the right to settle. There was resistance to accepting migrants, whether competent journeymen or objects of pity, they were often labelled as transients or vagrants. These folk could not have been quantified by back-projecting from nineteenth century census figures. Like the poor they, the unrecorded among the ordinary folk, are always with us.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis has been compiled by me, that the work is entirely my own, and that no part of the thesis has been published in its present form.

Robert A. W. H. Fenwick.

2nd October 2006.

FIGURES, CHARTS AND MAPS

Fig i	The Availability of Scotland's Old Parish Registers (O.P.Rs)	12
Fig ii	The names of the paroschinars of Auchtergawin. c.1650.	44
Fig iii	Auchtergaven parish and Murthley Estate boundaries.	45
Fig iv	Possible Population Trends in Scotland and Auchtergavin.	47
Fig v	Tenants in Obnies and Moordistoun in 1654-57, and in 1791.	61
Fig vi	Argyll study area, approximate boundary.	76.
Fig vii	Earl of Argyll's horning of 1675 and those missing from the caption.	83
Fig viii	Rough sketch map of Tiree c.1680.	93
Fig ix	St Cuthberts examination roll of 1635.	112
Fig x	Edinburgh parish boundaries and tax districts compared.	122
Fig xi	Map showing the main west European comparison area	220

TABLES

Table 1.	Estimating the unaccounted for c.1650 in Auchtergaven.	57
Table 2.	Estimating tenant to subtenant figures for Auchtergaven c.1650.	57
Table 3.	Inhabitants of Obnie District 1791.	62
Table 4.	Estimates from Argyll's horning 1675 and Stonefield's survey 1716.	90

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

<i>BOEC.</i>	<i>Book of the Old Edinburgh Club.</i>
CC.	Commissariat Court records (at N.A.S.).
CH2.	Church of Scotland kirk session minutes (at N.A.S.).
CH3.	Seceder kirk session minutes (at N.A.S.).
CS.	Court of Session records (at N.A.S.).
DI.	Diligence records (at N.A.S.).
E.C.A.	Edinburgh City Archives.
<i>EcHR.</i>	<i>Economic History Review.</i>
GD.	Gifts and Deposits (at N.A.S.).
JC.	High Court of Justiciary records.
N.A.S.	National Archives of Scotland.
N.L.S.	National Library of Scotland.
N.R.A.S.	National Register of Archives (Scotland).
O.P.R.	Old Parish Registers.
<i>O.S.A.</i>	<i>Old Statistical Account of Scotland.</i>
<i>RMS.</i>	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> (Register of Great Seal).
<i>RSCHS.</i>	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society.</i>
SC.	Sheriff Court Records.
<i>S.H.R.</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review.</i>
<i>S.H.S.</i>	<i>Scottish History Society.</i>
<i>S.R.S.</i>	<i>Scottish Record Society.</i>
TE.	Registers of Teinds (at N.A.S.).

£ = Pound Scots, unless stated Pound Sterling

£12 Scots = £1 Sterling

1 merk = 13 shillings 4 pence.

INTRODUCTION

WHO WERE SCOTLAND'S ORDINARY FOLK AND HAVE THEY BEEN LOST TO HISTORY?

The impetus to create this work originated from an all-too-familiar explanation to student and family historian alike that most of our Scottish forebears were subtenants or cottars, of whom very few records exist outside of those kept by the church. This is primarily because until the late eighteenth century, apart from wage labourers, most were paid in kind and hardly any of these transactions were ever likely to be recorded. Therefore the chances of finding other than church events for these ordinary folk prior to the mid nineteenth century, can be quite remote. But to say most of our forebears were of the landless and unsecured subtenantry, could be a sweeping generalisation requiring further explanation. An important factor is exactly what is most? For example could those inhabiting a sparsely populated part of the Highlands and islands possibly be anything other than tenants, especially if they were subsisting on small plots which left little room for subtenants or tied cottars? Also, although cottages still lined many urban streets, our study of Edinburgh's inner parishes in particular suggests that the men and women who made up the bulk of the urban population could not really be called subtenants or cottars in quite the same context as their rural counterparts. The occupant of a single urban room could still be a tenant. Many urban indwellers in particular described themselves as tradesmen, and even in the remotest of locations we find men, and indeed women, whose stated occupations are also commonplace in any city. Though gender is not an issue in this study of the subtenantry the roles of women are analysed, especially where the data is readily at hand.

In the early modern period most of the ordinary folk, who resided in tied or rented accommodation, urban or rural, would in fact have had multiple occupations even though they may have preferred to claim one calling. As the transactions of these lesser part time tradesmen and women and many of the humbler tenants involved goods in kind rather than cash, this left little in the way of documentary evidence about their affairs, and subsequently little is known about their existence. The very nature of the location and purpose for a let dictated that different kinds of people termed themselves as tenants, but invariably the law decided who was and who was not. Therefore for ease of reference throughout this project, the term 'subtenantry' is intended to refer to those

INTRODUCTION

who resided in tied or rented accommodation for which they did not possess the usual type of relatively secured tack or lease which would have been granted to a 'tenant' in the conventional legal manner by their landlord or superior, verbal or otherwise.

To the students of demographic studies a project has been long overdue which attempts to address the inter-linked question: What was the proportion of these ordinary folk of the subtenantry in Scotland likely to have been? Would these proportions and lifestyles have changed between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? and could these changes have differed, especially between those parts of the country where there were significant geographical and social contrasts likely to affect the lifestyles of the inhabitants? To facilitate these investigations three study areas were envisaged: one being in a typical agricultural part of mainland Scotland, where subtenants and cottars in the conventional sense were indeed likely to have been found, throughout both centuries. The second was in the Highlands and islands where the geography tended to restrict the quality and size of the holdings from which the inhabitants derived some of their substance. The third was an urban study area in which the lifestyles of the ordinary folk there would in many ways differ yet again from that of the subtenantry, and other subsisters, that were residing in the two rural locations. Then, although these enquiries cannot extend to undertaking similar studies elsewhere in Britain and Western Europe, comparisons can still be made with the secondary works of others in those fields.

Crucial to the project was the availability of research material likely to involve all social groups. This could dictate the size of the proposed study areas and limitations of the time period to be studied. Given that most of the surviving material pertaining to local populations tended to refer to the inhabitants of a parish, barony, or burgh, these were adopted as the preferred, though not rigid, study area sizes. The upward or c.1790 date limit set for the overall study period was flexible, and was arrived at as many church records are not available before that date. Also, the information in the Old Statistical Account of the 1790s, often provides valuable points of reference and useful comparisons for the conclusions derived from the material preceding that date. The earlier date limit of circa 1630, for the seventeenth century studies, was arrived at when this was found to be the earliest decade where one or two sources were deemed to

INTRODUCTION

be comparable with some for the same period in at least one of the other study areas. Identifying suitable material likely to be inclusive of all social groups is an involved and separate subject in its own right, and, as explanations pertaining to the locating of these lesser known sources is fundamental for this project, they, along with some of the better known records, are discussed in greater depth in chapter one.

Apart from the surviving church registers of births, deaths and marriages, we find in Scotland as elsewhere in Europe, that most archive material from the late sixteenth to eighteenth centuries consists of crown, ecclesiastical and civil court records and some landowners' estate papers. Most of this documentation however only refers to these property owners and their main tenants. Decennial census surveys were held nationally in Britain from 1800, but the earliest of these did not identify individuals. Not until the surveys of 1841 and 1851 does material begin to become available which was intended to encompass all social groups. At this point it should be acknowledged that in an article in 1993 Ian Whyte had reviewed the trends of what was then termed 'new research', on the pre (1841-51) census population of Scotland, since the seminal *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* was published in 1977.¹ But as many scholars have now made additional contributions in the three decades since that review of what then were the relevant sources, it is hoped that this project will likewise contribute to these endeavours.

Although there are problematic aspects associated with Scottish early modern social studies, to imply that little of real consequence survives to tell us about Scotland's ordinary folk before the census surveys of the mid nineteenth century could nevertheless be an oversimplification. For example Margaret Sanderson's work, mostly among sixteenth century sources, provides a vivid insight into the origins of the social stratum which we now categorize as the subtenantry. Important as a reminder for our quest of finding what the ratio of tenants to subtenants and others may have been is Sanderson's explanation that although most tenants were free to create subtenants, the division between the tenant and subtenant strata was very fluid, and subject to sudden change.

¹ I. D. Whyte, 'Scottish Population and Social Structure in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: New sources and perspectives', *Archives*, 20, (1993), 30-41.

INTRODUCTION

‘By the 15-16th century the middleman with a speculator’s eye on the land, was well established. These middlemen, who might be burgesses, merchants, lairds, or lawyers, could lease a whole township and install or sublet it to a factor, thereby demoting at a stroke the inhabitants to the rank of subtenants’.¹ Sanderson also cites a number of tantalising fifteenth century instances, mostly from the better kept records of the ecclesiastical estates, where they endeavoured to regulate the numbers of subtenants and cottars. Therefore as there do not seem to be any rules regulating the boundaries of extrapolation it just might be possible to project, even from those remote sources, what the subtenantry ratio or even lifestyles may have been on the handful of holdings to which Sanderson refers. But it is also possible that the records she used may well be the only ones for fifteenth century Scotland from which even a modicum of subtenant and cottar data could be extracted. With some knowledge of the abridged medieval Latin often used at that time, one could easily be enticed into further research among these early and fascinating archival nooks and crannies. But where a more substantial post 1600 listing of inhabitants exists, preferably for a whole parish, barony or burgh, this is likely to be of more use for our objectives, although it is appreciated that Sanderson’s work among the pre seventeenth century sources is indeed significant. For even at this early date one becomes aware of a potential complication for calculating the ratio of tenants to subtenants, especially where one tenant, or a permutation of sharing tenants, can hold the lease or tack of more than one holding.

Estimating what the respective ratios were of the subtenantry at differing times and locations, was only a part of this study. Demonstrating how many of the lesser known sources that were suitable for social and family history research could be located, and utilised for ascertaining lifestyles, was just as essential and of equal importance. This project also began with the objective of being as comprehensive a demographic database study as the sources and their interpretation would allow. But as is often the case with such methodology, the research and comparable sources unearth factors with implications reaching well beyond the project’s initial objectives.

¹ M. H. B. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh 1982), 42-5.

INTRODUCTION

Unavoidable in this respect was the question of how comprehensive in fact is the material that the wider scholarly community in general is currently inclined to utilise? Do some sources and research procedures need re-interpreting? Did research hitherto only pertain to the settled? Did some see a competent journeyman as an economic migrant, sturdy beggar, or wandering object of pity? Recognising the significance of these questions was an important factor to emerge from these studies.

A prime aim of this thesis therefore is to demonstrate how these lesser known records and sources can be utilised to formulate case studies. Although for the seventeenth century and for most of the eighteenth century there is not the range of church records, census and other research material that abounds for presenting the quality of work that exist for the post 1800 period, there is nevertheless a patchwork of lesser known pre nineteenth century sources that have their uses, which are perhaps only fully understood by specialist archivists and scholars. Even with the aid of database methodology, the results produced by this and any study of these early modern records are invariably speculative compared to that which is available for the modern era. But this work endeavours to show how some of these lesser known source, such as examination rolls, annuity rolls, and obscure listings of inhabitants, can still be examined for making original studies of contrasting locations in order to ascertain regional differences, especially in lifestyles. Also, to present as near as is possible, an analysis of what the ratio may have been between men and women of tenant rank and the potential subtenantry who were residing in these differing regions.

Time and economic factors had understandably inhibited extending a project of this depth to making comparisons with similar potential study areas outwith Scotland. Nevertheless, although the secondary literature of others who have made demographic studies for more or less the same periods elsewhere in Britain and Europe, may have ranged in some instances from the detailed to mere reviews, attempts at making comparisons with these studies with their findings, and opinions, were nevertheless warranted and relevant for obtaining a wider picture, not only for the context of this work, but also for evaluating the place of Scotland's ordinary folk in the emerging western world of the early modern period.

INTRODUCTION

With Scotland's proportion of the population of these islands varying at times from just around 10 to 12 per cent of that of her southern neighbour, and because of this proximity and the political and economic ties, it was essential and more than relevant that the first of any comparisons outwith Scotland for this study should be made with the work of scholars involved in similar projects, national and local, that pertained to this substantial population on Scotland's southern borders.

The first immediate tier of authority for Scotland's ordinary subtenantry was invariably the kirk session, whereas in England during our study period the authority of the local church was found to be in decline, in Scotland one was still expected to carry a testimonial (character reference) from the church when transferring from one parish to another, but in England there is scant reference to such. England's rural population are seen as having experienced and suffered from the effects of the agricultural changes from an earlier period than Scotland. These changes, which also began across the North Sea in the Lowlands (primarily Holland), gradually spread northward through England at a time when there was no Industrial Revolution to absorb those who were being displaced, or down-graded socially by the consolidation of properties under one substantial tenant.

Throughout Britain family structures were not too dissimilar, although among Scotland and England's differing legal systems the rights of certain Scots women, and the retention of their maiden names, were to prove boons for posterity and future social and family historians, not shared by their English counterparts. Not until the early eighteenth century and the Act of Union did Scotland and England's national and local economies begin to improve, although by the end of that century the lot of some in Britain's inner cities and in the north west of Scotland, could hardly be described as a healthy or secure way of life. England's poor it appears had long been the displaced rather than the infirm, and although the agricultural changes arrived later in Scotland, both countries were to experience an explosion of urban populations which the old poor laws of Scotland especially were unable to cope with.

The comparisons with the findings of other scholars pertaining to Europe soon revealed that apart perhaps from the Low Countries, Britain's lead in the agricultural

INTRODUCTION

improvements was to set it apart from the rest of the Continent. East of the Elbe a system of serfdom existed which under its subsequent guises was to inhibit the freedom of the subtenantry class until well into the twentieth century. West of the Elbe changes in agricultural methods only occurred slowly, and were virtually non-existent in Alpine regions and in France. The French legal system, whereby an estate or farm was shared among the children of the deceased, resulted in the eventual creation of thousands of small parcels of land which to this day the owners are hardly inclined to consolidate into larger and therefore viable units. Household and family structures therefore differed from Britain in that several married children and their off-spring would still be residing in the household of a very ancient estate or farm owner.

Irrespective of whether a locality in the west European regions that were to emerge as nation states was administered by a church or civic authority, all seem to have had the same problems as England, and to some extent Scotland, of discouraging the arrival of the transients and the displaced. In France thousands were confined in places known as *Hopitaux Generaux*, or sent to die of disease in the West Indies or of cold in Canada (see page 234). As in Britain, the rights of the ordinary subtenantry or their European counterparts to poor relief during our study period, also depended invariably upon whether or not the applicant belonged to the burgh, parish or locality responsible for the welfare payments.

During the seventeenth century some of the emerging European nation states may have been economically powerful compared to England and Scotland, but this power tended rest in the hands of an elite few, who in France in particular, lacked the support of an equally wealthy middling merchant and landowning class. It was the enterprising strength and politically independent influence of such a middling mercantile class that was to become fundamental to the expansion of England and Scotland's empire throughout the eighteenth century. This expansion did in turn provide a variety of opportunities for many of Scotland's ordinary folk.

1. SOURCES: LIKELY TO INCLUDE SCOTLAND'S SUBTENANTS, COTTARS, AND OTHER ORDINARY FOLK, - OUTLINED.

This chapter aims to present for analysis and discussion comparable seventeenth and eighteenth century material that has the potential for including some local population listings, especially where these may have been utilised in the course of seeking locations in Scotland for which material suitable for this project survives. An objective was to locate for both centuries some of the lesser known sources in particular, which could be used for ascertaining changes such as ratios of tenants to subtenants and others, and in turn enable us to identify our three contrasting study areas, two rural and one urban. From the outset a challenge was detected in a friendly scholar's observation, that for the seventeenth century especially, the limited amount of records dictates that the research may have to follow the sources. In fact this comment contained more truths than had been anticipated, not just for locating material in the seventeenth century, but also for seeking comparable mid eighteenth century sources for the same locations likely to be inclusive of all social groups. The challenge was to identify local documentation that also listed the subtenantry who tended to make up the bulk of the population. For our c.1630-c.1790 study period little information about the subtenantry existed outside of the records of a Church of Scotland which did not become fully 'established' until 1690. But the following examines in greater depth a wide range of sources which possessed degrees of potential for this projects:

WRIGLEY ET AL, METHODS CONSIDERED.

A question clamouring to be asked at this point was: surely the Old Parish Registers (O.P.R.s) of Scotland's established church contain details of all social strata. Scholars cite as an example the sterling work by Wrigley and Schofield in collating data from England's registers dating back to 1541.¹ But although Wrigley and Schofield had 10,000 or so parishes on which to base their studies, only 404 of these were considered as possessing the necessary qualities for their project. With just 900 parishes in Scotland, this would be equal to trying to derive conclusions from 36 parishes. It is appreciated that the size of the sample is not necessarily related to the size of the

¹ E. A. Wrigley & R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London, 1981).

population, but as the earliest Scottish O.P.R. dates from 1553 and hardly 36 have registers dating from the late sixteenth century, a comparable project based upon the handful of Scottish parish records that are available, is handicapped from the start. Wrigley and Schofield with others in the Cambridge Group studying population trends, have introduced student and scholar alike to terminologies such as ‘reconstitutions’ and ‘family reconstitutions’, with these terms being afforded to the reconstruction of family groups, based on the information derived from England’s birth baptism and marriage registers. Had Scotland’s O.P.Rs survived back to the 1540s, then crucial to the validity of the English findings is the question of accuracy, for in contrast to Scotland, the mother’s maiden surname is rarely seen in birth or baptism registers. For example where there is more than one John (with common surname), weaver (or common occupation), and Mary (same surname) at the same location, then how did Wrigley’s team know which family was which? *The Population History of England 1541-1871* and *English Population history from Family reconstitution 1580-1837*¹ are meticulous in detailing what warranted a parish being included for analysis, but it is not readily evident in either of these works as to how the problem of an English woman losing her maiden name on marriage is compensated for. Given that thousands of English registers will contain couples with the same names and occupations, one wonders whether the large proportion of English parishes that were rejected for the study, may indeed have included those where identifying individual families posed too many difficulties for the team. Some explanations which might be seen as addressing this question are found in the now somewhat dated *Introduction to English Historical Demography*, where Wrigley does not see couples with the same names as a problem, ‘Occasional mistakes will occur for this reason but they will be rare and not upset the results seriously’, and for the question of associating two or more baptisms to two or more marriages, ‘This is labourious but cases of this type arise relatively infrequently’.²

Pamela Sharpe in reviewing Elizabeth Sanderson’s book concerned with the

¹ E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen, R. S. Schofield, *English Population History from family reconstitution 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 1997).

² E. A. Wrigley, ‘Family Reconstitution’ in E. A. Wrigley (ed), *English Historical Demography, an introduction to* (London, 1966), 133-36.

work experience of women in eighteenth century Edinburgh, notes that Sanderson highlights some of the important factors which made Scots women distinct from their southern cousins. That Scottish women retained their surnames, making them and their families easier to identify, is attributed to the different legal systems governing female rights. A prime example is where Scots women in trade would inherit the freedom, equivalent to that of burgesses, from their fathers, and that upon marriage they were then able to pass these same rights, to become a burghess, on to their husbands.¹

In anticipation that the Cambridge Group may yet produce a research formulary which could still be utilised, having trawled through the aforementioned 1997 'family reconstitution' publication by Wrigley et al, one's thoughts are vindicated by N. Crafts' review that their long awaited work synthesizes the results of the reconstitutions of just 26 (of England's 10,000) parishes. These studies are indeed seen as providing a richer picture of fertility and mortality change, but Crafts considers the overall results as being no more than a refinement and nuancing of the earlier findings rather than a radical revision. The new data is used to revise the backward projections of the earlier book, with the prime differences in the aggregate estimates from those of 1981 relating to the period 1791-1821, indicating a small downward revision in the importance of fertility relative to mortality change in the acceleration of population growth from the mid eighteenth-century.² That the Cambridge Group's results in the 1997 publication are mainly post 1791 is surprising considering their resources, and outwith the c.1630 to c.1790 study period for this project. In all fairness however Flinn et al in *Scottish Population History*, noted some four years prior to the 1981 publication of Wrigley and Schofield's authoritative work, that in spite of careful and protracted research his team were unable to find a single Scottish parish with registers for an adequate run of years, of a sufficient quality to meet the requirements of reconstitution.³ In this respect the graph in Fig 1. demonstrates that unfortunately Scotland's O. P. Rs have simply not

¹ P. Sharpe, reviewing E. C. Sanderson, 'Women and work in eighteenth century Edinburgh' *EcHR*, L, 1, (1997), 178.

² N. F. R. Crafts' review of E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Schofield, R. S. Davies, and J. E. Oeppen 'English population history from family reconstitution, 1580-1837', in *EcHR*, LI, 2, (1998), 401-402.

³ M. Flinn, *Scottish Population History* (London 1977), xv.

survived to be utilised to the same extent as those of her southern neighbour.

CHURCH RECORDS: Old Parish Registers.

Fig 1. indicates that prior to the 1770s the number of available O.P.R.s for Scotland begins to diminish dramatically, whereas circa 1775 no more than ten per cent of these O.P.R.s would appear to be missing, reducing to around one per cent by 1854, with much of the latter being registration districts not formed until 1855. One may be able to use Scotland's O.P.R.s of the post 1770s, to project back in time, especially from the work of scholars of the nineteenth century, who founded their studies on the post 1841 census surveys. In this respect M. Anderson and T. C. Smout are prominent in noting the migration patterns of the ordinary folk and their extended families, especially during the Industrial Revolution.¹ Scotland's pre 1855 O.P.R.s do however suffer from a deficiency also evident among the pre 1837 O.P.R.s of England, as prior to those dates and for most of the eighteenth century, the registration of births, deaths and marriages was optional. Also, since the first or Original Secession from the established church in 1733, as much as 30-40 per cent of the inhabitants of Scottish parishes may have joined the seceder Associate Congregations (later the United Presbyterian Church), whose records, where they survive, have yet to be indexed. In addition to these Presbyterian seceders there would have been Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, and a variety of minor sects,² therefore the Established Church O.P.R.s could, in many locations, only reflect about half of the events which may have taken place there. Consequently attempting to extract data from Scotland's O.P.R.s is not an immediate objective of this study.

Therefore prior to the 1841 and 1851 census surveys, incomplete collections of records survive, of which only the surviving church registers and fragmented hearth and poll tax returns of the 1690s, can be said as having had at their conception the objective of providing a degree of detailed information about individuals within Scotland, irrespective of their social standing, and in the case of the Poll Tax data, irrespective of

¹ M. Anderson, *Family structure in 19th century Lancashire* (Cambridge U.P. 1971).

² It should be mentioned that only a handful of Episcopalian, Roman Catholic and other nonconformist birth, death and marriage records are extant for the eighteenth century, although these and some larger collections for the early nineteenth century are listed at the N. A. S.

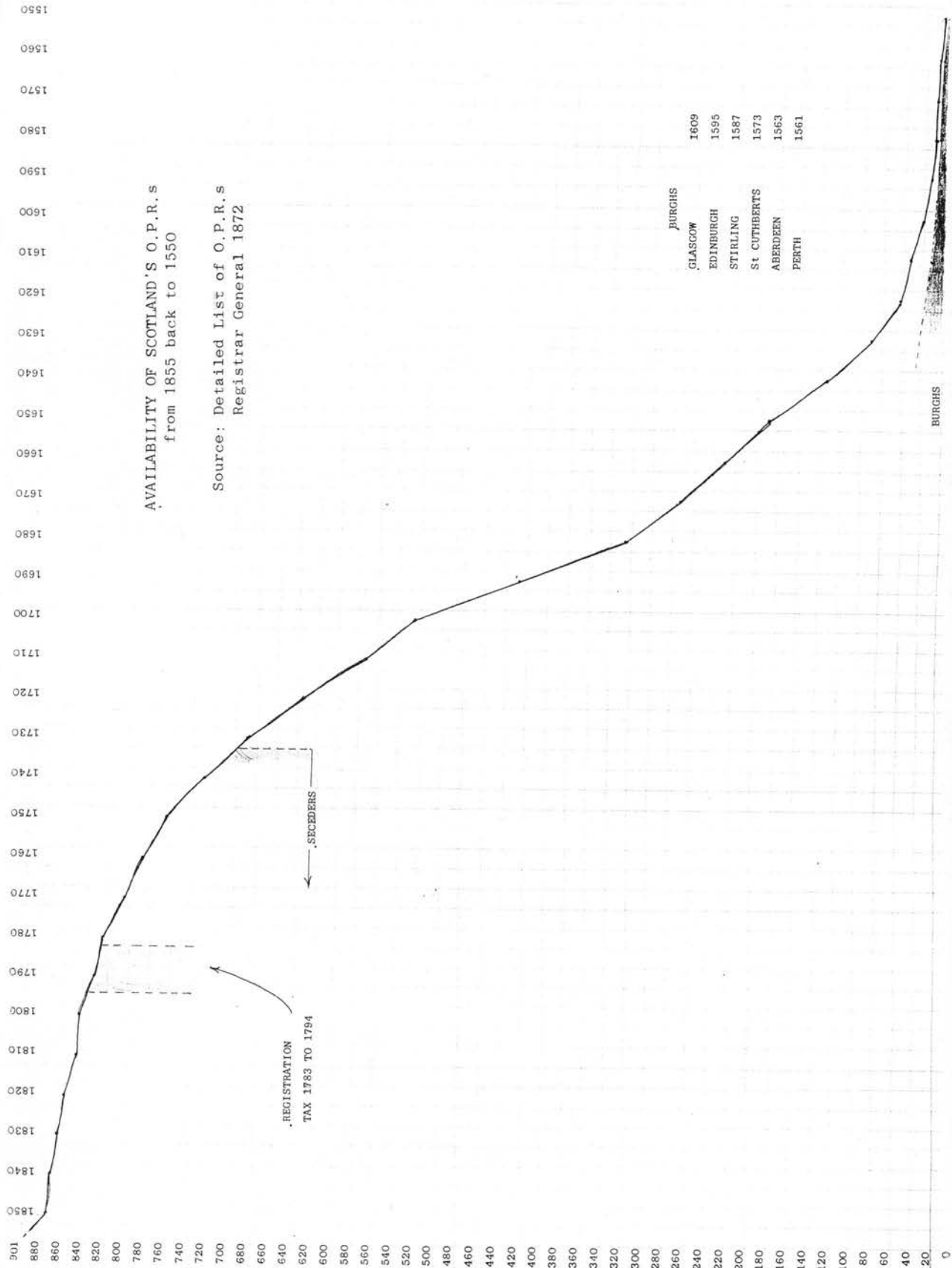


Fig i

his or her religious affiliations. Population figures likely to include non-conformists, which can be utilised for formulating data pertaining to the Scottish nation as a whole, were produced by the ministers of the established church parishes in the 1790s, as a part of the *Old Statistical Account*, and by Alexander Webster in his census of Scotland in 1755. But these two surveys do not detail individuals in order that one might be able to differentiate between those of tenant status or above, and the subtenantry

Though extracting data from Scotland's church records is not a prime objective of this project, it would be remiss not to mention their value. The information which they contain, about all social groups, can in some locations facilitate the formulating of regional and localised projections or extrapolations of quality, also, they often contain the last glimpse which we may catch of a distant forebear. For some the O.P.Rs are their first and only link with the eighteenth century, and for a few, an even remoter link with the seventeenth century. With the aid of Scotland's post 1855 statutory registers and the 1851 and 1841 census returns we may trace a particular family back to a late eighteenth century birth, baptism or marriage register. But more often than not the information contained in the church registers is scant, and never uniform. Very few church registers give a location or occupation for a bridegroom or a child's father. Witnesses to baptisms and a bride's father are at times named and occupations and locations sometimes given. The Kilmarnock and Wemyss O.P.Rs are good examples of this.¹ But seldom are all of these informative clues found in one registration or one register. In addition to a date and the names of the parties to a baptism or marriage, many a register will simply add 'in this parish', and in many instances by the mid eighteenth century, the name of the mother is omitted from baptism records altogether, as is the case in Auchtergaven in Perthshire until 1772.² Trying to formulate accurate data from Scotland's marriage records is also fraught with problems, due again to there being no uniform procedure for registration. Most just give a date and name the parties involved. In fact it would be safe to describe the marriage records as registers of proclamations and marriage contracts, as most dates given are for such, or for the first, second, or third time upon

¹ O.P.R. 597 & 459. G.R.O.

² O.P.R. 330/vol 1. G.R.O.

which the intended marriage was proclaimed. Consequently there must have been some proclamations for marriages which did not take place.

Of Scotland's 900 established church parishes only 526 or 58.4 per cent have pre 1800 death or burial registers,¹ and most of these only exist for sporadic periods sometimes for just two to three years. Again their content is not uniform and invariably they only list the name of the deceased, or 'buried a child to', although by the late eighteenth century the age, last residence, occupation, and cause of death may be included, together with the name, occupation and location for the father of a deceased child. But only occasionally is all of this information contained in one listing.

Kirk Session minutes.

After the pre 1855 church records of births, deaths and marriages, kirk session minutes and accounts are the next most likely source in which we encounter matters involving the ordinary folk of the subtenantry. However, kirk session records seldom survive for periods other than those already covered by the O.P.Rs for the same parish. At times the solitary payment of a fee noted in the session accounts is the only evidence of a marriage around that time. Occasionally the date of each proclamation of banns is noted, but not the marriage date, leaving one to assume that this may have taken place about a week after the last proclamation.² Seldom is the date of each proclamation and the marriage noted. Likewise a fee for hiring the mortcloth is the only indication of a person's death around that time. Payments for using the mortcloth can simply list a date, name, and the fee, leaving uncertainty as to whether the person named is the deceased or the fee payer. Sadly from the late eighteenth century onwards many of the kirk session account books merely list the total income received for the week or month.

Communion rolls which tend to include all social groups can be found among the kirk session records, but few are extant for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

¹ Registrar General, *Detailed List of Old Parochial Registers* (Edinburgh, 1872).

² This is evident among many well kept church session minutes and accounts where over four consecutive weeks there are proclamations often listed as: pro primo, pro secundo, pro tertio, and then - were married. See collections CH2 Church of Scotland, and CH3 (Seceders) at N.A.S.

Until the late 1700s these are usually referred to as examination rolls, and in the few locations where they do exist, they are an invaluable aid for research projects aimed at formulating information about the population in a parish or burgh as a whole. Missing from these rolls however are usually those too young to receive communion. The age for receiving communion varied, in some parishes children as young as ten, twelve and thirteen were being admitted,¹ although most were probably fifteen to sixteen years, in England the average was thirteen.² Secondly, there was the possible exclusion from the rolls of those with other religious affiliations, the nonconformists.

Examination rolls for St Cuthbert's parish exist from the 1630s, but another early example of a potentially comprehensive listing of adults within a parish is found in the kirk session minutes of Kinghorn in Fife. In 1581 no fewer than 820 parishioners here signed their confession of faith.³ That the list ends suddenly at the foot of a page without a notary's conclusion, and that the document has been rebound, indicates that it may not be complete. The preamble to this roll suggests it was meant to include all of the parishioners, with the local dignitaries evident among the first of the signatories. As an example of how data can be gleaned from this ancient listing, we can work from where Webster gives the population in Kinghorn parish in 1755 as 2,389,⁴ and as the graph in Fig iv indicates the population of the average Scottish parish is about 36.5 per cent lower in 1581 than it was in 1755, then the population of Kinghorn in the 1580s is estimated as around 1,517. By deducting from this figure the 820 persons signing the confession of faith, who were no doubt of communicant age, we are left with 46 per cent who were either under fifteen or sixteen years, or were non-adherents. This figure of 46 per cent for children and other non-adherents, is indicated in this study as high for the mid seventeenth century, but does appear to be very much in keeping with similar studies by other scholars for c.1790 (see pages 46-49).

¹ Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), 90.

² See also R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity* (Cambridge, 1985), 125-136.

³ N.A.S. ref: CH2/472/vol 1, ff 125-35v.

⁴ Noted in *O.S.A.* for Kinghorn, vol X, 484.

COVENANTS.

The Covenants or Protestations were lists of those subscribing to the oaths of loyalty relating to the political and religious upheavals in Scotland in the 1630s and 1640s, and apart from the two scholars cited here, they are a lesser-known source seldom used for demographic studies. This may be because many of the bonds or deeds of Covenant do not include all social groups, or pertain to a conveniently examinable study location such as a parish, burgh or barony. For researchers who would still like to identify Covenants for a particular quest, another disincentive is where surviving Covenants are scattered among a variety of repositories. J. K. Hewison listed many Covenants in 1908,¹ and although later discoveries made his lists inadequate, only one revision seems to have been made by D. Stevenson in 1972.² Although over 30 years old, these unique listings are undoubtedly obvious candidates for inclusion in the proposed subsidiary project to this work outlined on pages 35 and 36.

R. A. Houston summarises many Covenants that are comprehensive enough to facilitate studies of specific locations, and details their whereabouts.³ Prominent for 1638-44 are Abercorn, Borgue, Dalmellington, Dundonald, Edzell, Galston, Gartly, Kilmany, Legerwood, Maybole, Newbattle, and St Andrews (landward part). Like Todd, Houston used the lists for literacy studies, by noting whether the adherent signed or with their hand at the notary's pen. Many signatories could be heads of households that included other adult relatives and servants. A student might therefore ascertain what the likely number of occupants was to a household, and whether this figure varied at certain times. Where some books of signatories lack the notarial subscriptions, these are still invaluable for many other aspects of Scottish social and family history research.

ESTATE PAPERS.

The documentation amassed by local landowners can contain many rewarding surprises, as these collections are not always concerned with listing just the tenants.

¹ J. K. Hewison, *The Covenanters* (Glasgow, 1908), vol 2.

² D. Stevenson, 'The National Covenant: a list of Known Copies' in *RSCH*, 23 (1987-8), 255-99.

³ Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, 287-93.

THE SOURCES, OUTLINED

The papers of many estates primarily consist of deeds, contracts, correspondence pertaining to relatives, neighbours, the county, the country, business ventures and household accounts. Where the tenantry are mentioned, most transactions such as tacks (leases), rentals and other listings, do indeed only involve the proprietor's main tenants, although some removings or orders to flit, do at times include cottars. Militia muster rolls include subtenants, and are found by those investigating the papers of the larger estates. But these rolls have limitations, as they only refer to men of military age who did not have too many matrimonial or managerial obligations. However, for reasons often unexplained, population listings of the inhabitants of the whole or part of an estate are encountered. The value of such listings is enhanced for periods and locations where there is no other comparable data about the subtenantry, especially from church records.

Sorting through estate papers can be speculative and time-consuming, but there are short cuts. The Scottish Record Society's *Directory of Landownership in Scotland c 1770*,¹ is a convenient tool for finding who the landowners were in specific locations, and, although this work is c.1770, many of the estates listed were still held by the same family in the seventeenth century. This publication was compiled from county valuation rolls, some of which exist for other periods back to 1667, but the earlier rolls are in manuscript form and unindexed. Where the *Directory of Landownership* or valuation rolls cannot help, the indexed minute books of Sasines (land registry) and the pre 1700 Retours (Services of Heirs)² often name the property owners within a parish or barony. As a last resort where one has the time, are the testaments of persons in the relevant area³ that are listed in the indexed Commissariat Court Registers of Testament⁴. In these the inventory of the 'debtis owed by the dead' invariably begins by naming the landlord or superior to whom the defunct owed their rents, mails, or feu duties.

¹ L. R. Timperley (ed) *Directory of Landownership in Scotland c 1770* (Edinburgh, 1976) S.R.S. 5. Is based upon valuation rolls which exist nationally for 1649, 1667, and for other dates, at N. A. S.

² Minute books to the *General Registers of Sasines* and *Particular Registers of Sasines*, and the pre 1700 *Inquisitionum Retornatarum Abbreviatio* (Retours, Services of Heirs), also at N. A. S. and N. L. S.

³ In addition to inspecting the register of testaments for the appropriate Commissary Court jurisdiction the register for the Edinburgh Commissariat should also be inspected, as many provincial testaments over a certain value were recorded in the registers of this court.

⁴ S. R. S. and N. L. S.

THE SOURCES, OUTLINED

HERITORS RECORDS.

These do at times include details of some of the tenants within a parish, but comprehensive listings of all social groups are virtually non-existent.

COURT RECORDS.

Unlike the main tenants, the subtenantry would have had little if any reason, or means, to resort to litigation. This was because most of their transactions, even their place of abode, was not deemed recordable to the same extent as that of the main tenant, with or alongside whom the subtenantry dwelt. This is evident from estate rentals and from a burgh's cess and stent rolls. Prior to the seventeenth century few tenants had written leases, and the subtenantry presumably had no written agreements at all. For their accommodation rural subtenants and cottars exchanged their labour with the main tenant, with transactions paid for in kind rather than cash. Most of the subtenantry's problems, social, domestic, or moral would have been resolved by the kirk session or, in one or two extreme cases, by the local Presbytery. Movement into and out of the ranks of the tenantry was possible, especially in the seventeenth century when there were greater instances of shared tenancies, on smaller holdings, which had yet to be consolidated by the agricultural reforms which were to affect most of those working on the land in Scotland throughout the eighteenth century.

In addition to the deeds, obligations and contracts which would have been registered with a court by those who could afford to have participated in such, virtually all of Scotland's courts would have had Act, Court or Diet (day) books which minuted the actions in the process of being heard by that court. The original papers or evidences pertaining to these actions are referred to as the 'processes', and it is among these bundles of original processes that gems of statistical data are frequently buried. Such can range from lists of witnesses, debtors, and tenants, with a prize being a local population listing which includes the locations of subtenants and others. Unfortunately few if any of these informative processes seem to have survived for the lesser local courts. However, these local courts which would have involved some of the ordinary folk throughout the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, are:

The Barony and Regality Court records:

A baron court was originally held by the baron of a local barony, and latterly by a bailie as his deputy, and had both civil and criminal jurisdiction. A regality court, where the Crown used to franchise local justice to specific landowners, was held by a lord of regality and was also presided over by a bailie or steward as his deputy. These courts do seem to have evolved especially for a localised jurisdiction, and in a number of respects are similar in concept to England's local manorial courts. The surviving records for Scotland's barony, regality, and franchise courts can therefore be approached with a degree of optimism, as they could contain information which is relevant for students involved with specific local studies. For example in the search for source material for this project the 1696 Poll Tax returns for the burgh of Dunkeld were encountered among the processes that survive from the Dunkeld Regality Court.¹ These, like the Poll Tax returns for Perth found among the Perth Burgh Court records,² are both currently not noted among the E69-70 Exchequer Records repertory books for such at the N.A.S.

Most of the jurisdiction of these barony and regality courts was curtailed in 1747-48 following the '45', to presiding for example over cases where the fine did not exceed £2, subsequently these courts seem to all intents to have vanished, therefore in only a scattering of locations do records survive from them for the post 1747 period.³ Nevertheless, in a number of instances pre 1747 documentation from these courts has been published by the Scottish History Society, and material which would appear to have originated from these barony and regality courts, has also become intermixed with the the estate papers of the local magnate, who in a number of cases may, with their forebears, have presided over these courts. Given that in the late twentieth century an interest in the barony courts was revived by those who, for reasons best known to themselves, began purchasing the perceived rights and title to baronies hitherto considered dormant, it is interesting to note that up to 2003 these courts were still

¹ 'List of the Pollable Persons in Dunkeld 1696', N.A.S. ref: SC49/70/1.

² 'List of the Pollable Persons in Perth 1696', Perth & Kinross Archives ref: B59/22/24.

³ N. A. S., RH11, Local and other court records.

competent in theory, but in practice it would be difficult to find suitors. Returning to the all important quest of identifying the ordinary folk through the records of the regality and barony courts, the List & Index Society's *Hand list of Records for the Study of Crime in Early Modern Scotland*,¹ may not highlight local population listings as such, but does reflect the activities of many below the rank of tenant who would have come under the jurisdiction of what are now deemed the minor courts.

Justiciary Court records:

The supreme criminal court of Scotland organised in 1672 with a Justice General, Justice Clerk and five Commissioners of Justiciary. At the N.A.S. many of the minute books from 1672, under ref: JC, do indeed include criminal cases which pertain to the lower orders, but at any one time these folk are not in sufficient numbers within a specific location to formulate the study required for our purposes.

Sheriff Court records:

For Scotland's rural inhabitants, who included most of the population throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the material kept by the sheriff courts in each county is, after local church records and estate papers, undoubtedly the most useful for providing information about persons from every stratum of society. For many of Scotland's central, southern and eastern counties the sheriff court records reach well back into the sixteenth century, but once again the vast population below the rank of tenant do not readily present themselves, in any of these periods, and invariably they need extricating from the many boxes containing the bundles of 'processes' which are extant for most of these courts. The repertory books for the surviving records for a sheriff court can however highlight a number of local population listings and surveys which have already been brought to light by earlier research. These can include militia rolls detailing a body of local men as opposed to professional soldiers, and although the muster rolls of the officers and men in a county regiment are at times encountered among sheriff court records, these tend to be restricted to eligible males only.

¹ P. Rayner, B. Lenman, and G Parker, *Hand list of Records for the Study of Crime in Early Modern Scotland* (List & Index Society, 1982).

Where an action in the 'process' of being heard by a court reached the stage where the Sheriff or his deputed decreed a resolution, in many instances registers of these 'decreets' survive. As in the collections of deeds and protested bills, these decreets can refer to folk below the rank of tenant, but seldom if ever do listings of these ordinary folk appear in registers of deeds or decreets in sufficient quantity to warrant the formulating of useful statistical data. Again it is among the numerous boxes and bundles of processes, where there are occasional listings used perhaps only as evidence, that we are likely to encounter documentation which may have the potential to be utilised for projects aimed at collating information about the subtenantry. Also found among the original bundles of processes are the many actions which will not have reached the stage of a decret where, then as now, the matter was abandoned or settled out of court once a party had seen how the case was developing. Even though the original processes are invariably more informative than an eventual decret, once again to embark upon a search of these boxes and bundles for useful data could be speculative, and can involve time-consuming dedication. For example, no registers of decreets survive for the Perth sheriff court for the years from 1758 to 1830, but as there are minute books of decreets for the period, the documentation to which these minutes refer is only likely to be found among the original processes. Likewise in a separate yet relevant search for sources, 208 boxes of processes for Aberdeen sheriff court for the period from 1749 to 1793 were investigated.¹ Evident were numerous actions against tenants for the late or non-payment of rent. In a year which could be reflecting a bad harvest, the number of persons cited for arrears would seem to be well in excess of that found in a normal rental, indicating that others below the rank of tenant were being summoned. In a number of instances subtenants, cottars and others are indeed specified, but on no occasion was the evidence sufficient to verify that those summoned were the total inhabitants of a location. For those undertaking a study of the tenantry in Aberdeenshire, two interesting factors did nevertheless emerge as a result of the search for comprehensive listings involving the subtenantry in that county:

¹ N. A. S. ref: SC1/11/1-208.

THE SOURCES, OUTLINED

1. Orders to flit seem to have been taken out against tenants on an annual basis, in the same way that summonses are taken out annually today, for the late or non-payment of the local authority's rates or taxes.
2. Many of the tenants named in these eighteenth-century actions were being cited for late or non-payment for the latest or current crop, five or more years later.

These factors could suggest that these actions were no more than an annual formality, in the same way that hundreds of threats to issue warrants for the late or non-payment of local taxes are issued annually today. Also, that many of the same persons appear in these summonses up to five years later could be a reflection of times, where the landlord had to be content with threats, as there may not have been a pool of potential tenants to draw upon. The advent of Britain's industrialisation in the second half of the eighteenth century was beginning to attract surplus rural labour to the towns, and to Scotland's expanding industrial belt. This second factor lends support to Tom Devine's argument that industrialisation had alleviated much of the need for agricultural displacements in the late eighteenth century.¹

Burgh Court records.

The chief magistrate for these courts which were held within a burgh was the Provost, although most of the cases were presided over by his bailies. The organisation of the burgh court records beginning with cases noted in Act or Court books, then the collections of processes or warrants and registers of decreets, deeds and protested bills and the like, was to all intents identical to that followed in the sheriff and other courts. Much of the material which survives from these courts is however still retained within the archives of the burgh in which it originated, and has not been deposited with the National Archives of Scotland in Edinburgh. Nevertheless, the N.A.S. usually has copies of the repertory books for these regional holdings, and once again these can contain sections which list population listings within these burghs which are of

¹ T. M. Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland 1660-1815* (Edinburgh 1994), 2-3.

interest.¹ The inhabitants of the burghs cannot be said to have had the same tenant, subtenant and cottar designations as those afforded to those residing in rural locations. In the burghs the resident senior merchants and property owners were invariably burgesses of the burgh, although a few professionals and lawyers may not have been burgesses. It was also quite usual for the wealthier country landowners to rent, and at times own, a house within the burgh, and for them to possess a burgess's ticket. In the seventeenth century the status of an urban tenant could vary from that of labourer to merchant, as did the status of a rural tenant, which also depended upon the size and quality of their respective holdings, and whether or not it was a single or shared occupancy. By the second half of the eighteenth century most of the tenantry who remained on the consolidated and improved rural estates, were likely to be of a higher and wealthier status than most who possessed the title of tenant in an urban area, although some urban tenants owned property elsewhere. With the advent of urban industrialisation there was a smaller though very essential proportion of merchants within the burghs, but an ever increasing number of urban dwellers were now labourers, artisans and factory workers, who were expanding the suburbs and renting in hastily built tenement properties which, in many instances, were less healthy than that occupied by the subtenantry and cottars of the agricultural parishes. Only a few of the wealthier urban tenants could be said to have subtenants, and some of these were more likely to have performed the role of boarding house or innkeepers.

Considering that many of the property owners within a burgh stipulated in the terms of their rentals that their tenants should also be responsible for paying that burgh's local cess, stent and annuity taxes, the listings pertaining to such are often a very rich source for formulating information and statistics relevant to the study of urban social history. Such listings can for example identify who the superior may have been to a tenement or group of tenements within a burgh. In turn, these local taxation listings could show who the tenants were in those tenements and, at times, who their subtenants were, and, who the occupiers were on certain floors within the tenement, who may have held their possession directly from the superior. Subsequently should any lists of

¹ Burgh of Perth repertory includes; 'List of the inhabitants of Perth 1766', ref: B59/24/1/36, and 'List of the Inhabitants of Perth 1773', ref: B59/24/1/40.

a comparable date survive which total the number of inhabitants in that burgh, or in the case of Edinburgh in sub-parishes within the burgh, then the possibility arises of ascertaining what the ratio of tenants to subtenants and others may have been in that burgh or sub-parish at those times.

Commissary Court records:

The commissary courts, which dealt primarily with executry and matrimonial matters, were a hangover from the former ecclesiastical diocesan courts and retained their names from the diocese of their jurisdiction, which was not therefore restricted to the boundaries of any particular county or number of counties. The north and north western area of Perthshire was for example under the jurisdiction of the Dunkeld commissariat, and the part of Perthshire to the south west of Perth was within the commissariat court of Dunblane's jurisdiction, while south east Perthshire and the burgh itself came under the jurisdiction of St. Andrews. In 1564 a new commissary court was created for Edinburgh with a general jurisdiction over the whole of Scotland in matrimonial matters, and for the registering of testaments over a certain value. As the first step towards seeking divorce for desertion, after four years a deserted spouse could sue in the commissary court for 'adherence', that is the return of the deserter. The Edinburgh commissary court was the only one that could ultimately pronounce on the legality or dissolution of a marriage. Leneman's many case studies derived from this court, especially 'Common' divorces,¹ involved several ordinary persons who could be said to have been below the rank of tenant, including one case brought on the poor roll. While these 'Common' divorces all contain fascinating details about individuals, most however seem to refer to tradesmen and lesser merchants who evidently had the means to involve lawyers. It is envisaged that only a minority of the rural or urban subtenantry would have been able to contemplate the expense of taking their matrimonial problems to a court in Edinburgh. Leneman confirms that it was chiefly the propertied who would

¹ L. Leneman, *Alienated Affections, the Scottish Experience of Divorce and Separation, 1684-1830* (Edinburgh, 1998), 184-216.

have had the means for such a venture. The smaller tenants, subtenants and other ordinary folk were more inclined to refer marital problems to the kirk session, or presbytery, as the prime mediator in local disputes and disagreements.¹ Likewise although some testaments for servants and cottars are at times present among the commissariot court records, any goods, gear, furnishings or livestock which most of the smaller tenants and subtenantry may have left were hardly likely to have warranted the cost of drawing up and registering an inventory with that court, especially if such was not deemed worthy of taxation, involve any significant debts, either due or owed, and if there were no other questions or misunderstandings about who was to get what. That said, in the General and Particular Registers of Hornings for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there are pages and pages of persons, whose locations are given but whose status is usually unknown, who are being summoned by the commissariots for failing to register their relative's inventory.

The activities of these commissariots were merged with those of the sheriff courts in the 1820s. For finding what snippets of evidence there are of the ordinary folk in these courts, again the repertory books for these sources may contain a number of useful pointers. Collections of processes and decreets also survive for many of these commissariot courts, but not in such daunting quantities as survive for the same in the sheriff courts. Therefore although a search through these for further listings of the subtenantry still remains speculative, the search is far less time-consuming. Because they are indexed the commissariot court registers and warrants of testaments are a popular source for social and family historian alike, who may have exhausted the church records which are likewise indexed. But unless the deceased was likely to have been involved in substantial transactions of borrowing or lending, which for example were unlikely to have been repaid or settled within the space of one year's harvest, they are unlikely to have warranted a testament or inventory being registered for them among these seventeenth and eighteenth-century collections. Nevertheless, should one have the time and patience, an inspection of the testaments that were registered for

¹ R. Mitchison & L. Leneman, *Girls in Trouble, sexuality & social control in rural Scotland 1660-1780* (Edinburgh, 1998), 43-44.

those with assets or debts who were residing within a relevant geographical area of interest, can at times be rewarding, as the inventories of debts due by, and to the deceased, can frequently list persons of all social groups, especially the neighbours and sums due to the servants of the deceased. Some landlord's testaments can detail outstanding rentals¹, and it is possible that the listing of the debts due to him may include the odd subtenant, cottar or others, but one is more likely to find the ordinary folk among the list of fees (wages) which the deceased was due to his servants. However, to date, comprehensive local population listings or similar, from which detailed statistics such as a ratio of tenants to subtenants and others might be calculated, are quite unlikely to be encountered among these collections of Commissariat court testaments.

Privy Council records:

The Privy Council, consisting of high officers of state and other magnates, had evolved from the undifferentiated council early in the sixteenth century. It was presided over by the Chancellor and was nominally subject to Parliament, it exercised judicial, executive and legislative power. Its separate registers begin in 1545 and are published and indexed up to 1691. This council was abolished in 1708. Given the grand title and status of those who were the officials of this body, it would appear that the registers for this authority would be the last place in which one might encounter any relevant information about the inhabitants of Scotland who were below the rank of the tenantry. It is therefore pleasing to find that in almost every one of the 38 indexed volumes of published Registers of the Privy Council for Scotland, cases involving persons who are evidently subtenants, cottars and others are mentioned. In many instances these ordinary folk appear as servitor² accomplices with either their laird, with their main tenant, or with others, who are usually being summoned for offences ranging from disturbing the peace, lawburrows, riot, and attending conventicles (unauthorized assemblies), to slaughter and witchcraft. Scores, and at times hundreds, of ordinary

¹ See Archibald Campbell of Jura in GD64 and SC51/32, at N.A.S.

² In the seventeenth to eighteenth century the term servitor applied to any social rank.

people are listed in this series, together with their designations. Many of the cases in the latter half of the seventeenth century are against persons in the south and south west of Scotland during the time of the Stewart monarchy's persecution of the Covenanters. Sadly however none of these listings of persons can be identified as a comprehensive listing of the inhabitants of a specific parish or barony from which informative data, such as a ratio of tenants to others, could be derived. Nevertheless, a detailed study of these Privy Council Registers may well provide an acceptable degree of information for other subjects, involving the geographical extent of Covenanting, from the number and location of the scattered and individual tenancies mentioned.

Court of Session:

This, the supreme civil judicature in Scotland, which has survived various adjustments to its composition, was initially presided over by the Chancellor and other persons chosen by the monarch, to determine causes previously brought before his or her council. The amount of records that survive for this court undoubtedly exceeds that of any of the other sheriff, commissary or burgh courts. Once again the number of subtenants and others appearing as individual pursuers or defenders in the actions brought before the Court of Session, is likely to be very few and far between, no doubt because of costs. On the other hand, the sheer volume of documentation that survives for this court suggests that cases pertaining to groups of subtenants and cottars are almost certain to exist. The time involved however in searching this vast collection for sources that might be comprehensive enough to base a study, and/or the production of a paper explaining to others how such studies may be accomplished, could well be deemed as a worthy academic achievement in its own right. In this respect, a prime example of the amount of material available is where W. Coutts was able to base her Ph.D thesis on the Court of Session records for just the year 1600 alone.¹ Coutts acknowledges that examples of the supreme court's activities are evident in numerous volumes such as those published by the Stair Society, but by compiling and summarising the various cases brought before the court for a complete year, her work

¹ W. Coutts, 'The Business of the College of Justice in 1600' (Ph.D Thesis, Edinburgh, 1999).

provides a more realistic picture of the procedures in action, although in this instance evidence of the subtenantry and others is not abundant. Nevertheless, the miles of shelving required for accommodating just the processes for the cases brought before the Court of Session will no doubt contain gems of information presented in evidence, including not only local but possibly hitherto unseen national population listings. If the two or three boxes containing the surviving Dunkeld Regality courts records can produce the missing Poll Tax returns for that burgh, one can only speculate as to what two or three thousand Court of Session boxes might contain. The dedicated social historian may however have to allocate a decade or so of his or her life, in order to undertake proficient investigation of the processes for just one of the offices of the four or more Clerks to the Court of Session.

Court of Exchequer:

As a court having jurisdiction on revenue cases, this court was set up after the Union of 1707 on the model of the English Court of Exchequer. Its activities were merged with those of Scotland's Court of Session in 1856. Scholars and students of many aspects of Scottish social and economic history are familiar with the information that can be gleaned, especially from the Forfeited Estate papers that were kept by this court following the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Many termed as tenants are detailed in rentals in the surveys that were made or assessing the value of these forfeited estates. But apart from the odd subtenant and cottar appearing as a witness, there is little evidence in these collections of those, with whom this study is concerned and would have been below the rank of tenant, who made up the bulk of the population. A number of these exchequer records may however facilitate local population studies in parishes where the estate owner was the sole or predominant proprietor. In these locations some aspects from any of that proprietors surviving post 1745 rentals could be compared with Alexander Webster's survey for the number of inhabitants residing in that parish in 1755.¹ Most of these forfeited estates were however situated towards the central and

¹ Much of the essential detail from A. Webster's original survey is conveniently contained in J. G. Kyd (ed), *Scottish Population Statistics*. S.H.S, 3rd ser. 44 (1952), and in the respective volumes of the O. S. A.

western Highlands,¹ where few if any locations could be considered as representing an average urban or rural Scottish parish, nevertheless such comparisons could be useful for aspects of Highland research. Notable for example, among some of the larger proprietors whose estates were forfeited following the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, were: Fraser of Lovat, the Macdonalds of Glengarry, Clanranald, and Keppoch, Cameron of Lochiel and the Robertsons (Clan Donnachaidh) in Highland Perthshire. Though it just might be possible to formulate some statistics for the eighteenth century by comparing the forfeited estate rentals with Webster's survey, a problem which could persist is that, without resorting to a degree of protracted searching among the sources outlined earlier in this chapter, it must be recognised that in general readily available seventeenth-century sources are few and far between for most areas of northern and western Scotland compared to the rest of the country.

The exchequer records also have details of the taxes which were imposed nationally, especially throughout the mid to late eighteenth century. Of interest are the returns for the Window Tax, Commutation Tax, Inhabited House Tax, Farm Horse Tax and Consolidated Assessed Tax, but all of these tend to refer to householders and the main tenant farmers only. There were other taxes on carts, carriages, horses, dogs, clocks and servants, but none of these would appear to list the likes of sub-tenants in sufficient quantity to facilitate studies which could be utilised by this particular project.

Inhibitions and Hornings:

These actions are akin to an early form of bankruptcy or warrant sales known as procedures of Diligence, and catalogued at the N. A. S. under ref: DI. These consist of the General Registers of Inhibitions and Hornings which contain cases from all over Scotland, and the Particular Registers of Inhibitions and Hornings which contain cases from within a particular county.²

An Inhibition was a procedure whereby a debtor was restrained from alienating

¹ For maps detailing the various regional and clan allegiances see A. I. Macinnes, *Clanship Commerce and the House of Stuart 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996). - also: Annette M. Smith, *Jacobite Estates of the Forty-Five* (Edinburgh, 1982).

² DI.1-20 and DI.21-109, both at N.A.S.

or burdening further his or her heritable property to the prejudice of his creditors. The registers of inhibitions are therefore only likely to refer to that minority of the population, invariably of the rank of tenant or above, who either owned or possessed a feu charter for heritable property, or possessed a very long heritable tack (lease) of the same. At a time when a husband was responsible for his wife's debts, registrations are at times encountered where a husband is endeavouring to inhibit his wife from the running up of debts in his name.

Horning was a process of technical outlawry usually for the implementation of a court decree (in earlier times the announcing of the decree was preceded by sounding a horn at the market cross), whereby the moveable goods of a debtor could be escheated (forfeit) to the crown and then made available to his creditors. In contrast to the registers of inhibitions which to all intents only involved property owners, the registers of hornings are a much more useful source for encountering the ordinary folk within a particular county. The N.A.S. has printed and indexed abridgements for the General and Particular registers of hornings (& inhibitions) dating back to 1781, and although few if any indexes of hornings exist for the pre 1781 period, minute books are extant for most areas. Where a case has progressed to the stage of a horning, it is anticipated that its last mentioned date may be useful for estimating when to look for the original documents or 'processes' for the action, not only for the identification of further evidence, but also for providing a cross-checking opportunity where the condition of the registers, or the palaeography therein, may require a second opinion.

Prominent among the hornings dating from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century are hundreds and hundreds of named and designated persons being summoned, especially by the church, for the non-payment of teinds, lair silver, and especially for not registering the testament, and inventory, of a deceased person whose goods they were discerned as having intromitted with (taken responsibility for). This last category of hornings does provide a brief and valuable insight into immediate family relationships at a time for which less than ten per cent of Scotland's Old Parish Registers survive (see figure 1). However, once again most of these large listings are only likely to mention those who had something to leave, and could be taxed, and although the hundreds being cited would appear to be well in excess of the number who

THE SOURCES, OUTLINED

may have been of tenant status in any one parish, these listings cannot be said to be comprehensive, or to have delineated between the tenantry and others.

The many large lists of persons found among some of the hornings (and inhibitions) are nevertheless invaluable for those parts of Scotland, such as the north and the north west, for which few if any seventeenth century documents on local populations survive. Although our main quest is to look for sources which include the subtenantry, lists of those who may only have been the tenants are still to be welcomed, as many holdings in this part of Scotland, throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century, were shared tenancies. Therefore it can be said that a greater proportion of ordinary folk could be present among these northern and western records than they were likely to be in those parts of Scotland where holdings had been consolidated into single wealthier tenancies. For example a horning by the Earl of Argyll, mostly against Macleans in the Morvern and Mull district, dated 1675, naming 522 persons who were presumably the heads of households, was to provide a useful contribution to the study of the north west coast featured in chapter three of this work.

Other court records.

A civil case could be brought before the Justice of the Peace Court for a specific county, but the records for this jurisdiction are sparse, and as the only items of interest are probably the small debt cases from 1795, these are outwith our study period.

The Admiralty Courts had jurisdiction over maritime and seafaring cases and heard actions from any part of Scotland. But apart from the odd listing of crew members and occasional passengers, most of these cases are for mercantile debts.

NATIONAL & LOCAL TAXATION RECORDS.

Poll Tax and Hearth Tax:

Prominent among the seventeenth-century sources much utilised by scholars are the Poll Tax returns of 1694, which survey had set out to include information derived from the occupations and incomes of all of Scotland's inhabitants. But sadly this Poll Tax data survives for only six of Scotland's thirty three listed counties. Some information can also be derived from the surviving Hearth Tax rolls of 1691, but it is

emphasised at some length by Helen Dingwall in her study of late seventeenth-century Edinburgh in which these Poll Tax returns are pivotal, that the Hearth Tax rolls refer to heads of household only, and the conversion from hearths to household size is fraught with difficulties;¹ and as the Hearth Tax listings suffer in places from the lack of occupational designations, it is to all intents unreliable as a source for estimating a ratio of tenants to subtenants and others. These Poll Tax returns are viewed by many as the only source in the early modern period from which social groups for at least six of Scotland's burghs and counties can be identified. Extrapolations made from surveys which encompass a whole burgh or a county, are indeed likely to be more reliable than similar projections made from those scant pre 1690 sources which may have been encountered hitherto. Tom Devine however is perhaps more critical of this over-reliance on the Poll Tax as a research source:

The material is, of course, far from perfect and the returns are not comprehensive. The poor were almost always omitted from the poll lists as were children under the age of sixteen. Cheating was clearly possible and highly likely, as some individuals tried to reduce their poll by claiming to be worth less than they really were. The social categories applied by parish collectors were not consistent. This applies especially to those below the rank of tenant. Above all, however, there is the problem that hardly any poll tax records have actually survived.²

Devine does however complement Dingwall's urban study and, in spite of his aforementioned reservations, he also found the available Poll Tax returns pivotal in providing the data for his work depicting the transformations and social changes that had occurred in rural Scotland since the 1690s. In the light of having criticised then utilised the source, one can only reflect that such is the state of many of Scotland's records compared to those that are available in England and elsewhere, especially our O.P.Rs and local court records. Devine would therefore seem to be demonstrating that we must still endeavour to use what there is, as best we can.

¹ Helen M. Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh* (Aldershot 1994), 16, 129, 152-3.

² Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland 1660-1815*, 4-5.

Scholars are nevertheless aware that the boundaries between the tenant, subtenant, and other social orders listed in the Poll Tax, are rarely indicated, to the extent that only vague conclusions, regarding the ratio of tenants to others, might be arrived at for a few locations. Nevertheless, where in an urban location we are able to compare the Poll Tax returns with that burgh's local cess & stent tax rolls for the period, it is envisaged that the required social strata might emerge. It is then envisaged that this may facilitate formulating statistics such as the ratio between the landlord and/or the cess & stent paying tenants on the one part, and the wider population of subtenants and others on the other part. In this respect chapter four, which is allocated to the study of an urban area in this work, sets out to present the results of such an exercise. Although Devine and many others have long been able to compare late seventeenth-century Poll Tax information with the wider range of data that survives for the eighteenth century, the subtenants, cottars, and other ordinary folk are still submerged, and only appear as figures whose numbers are occasionally rounded up at the parochial level, to be added to overall population statistics, as Dr Alexander Webster's survey of 1755 clearly exemplifies.

Valuation Rolls.

It is appreciated that this source refers to persons of a much higher socio-economic level than those in whom we are interested. But these rolls can be utilised for ascertaining factors such as whose estate papers pertain to a specific location. In this respect the experienced researcher may already envisage two types of valuation rolls:

1. The post 1855 valuation rolls: These are an essential source for social and family historian alike, as they can help to clarify whether a rural or urban dweller, of eighteenth-century origin, was of tenant or subtenant status, such being information which is not readily discernible from the census returns for the same nineteenth and twentieth-century period.
2. For our seventeenth and eighteenth-century study period, the valuation rolls for property taxation are sporadic and inconsistent. Where prior to 1855 they do happen to be comprehensive they primarily pertain to the assessments levied on the larger landowners, with only an occasional reference to some of the main tenants. But as was

THE SOURCES, OUTLINED

mentioned previously, the pre 1855 valuation rolls are an invaluable source for ascertaining which landowner's estate papers are likely to pertain to a specific location.

WEBSTER AND THE OLD STATISTICAL ACCOUNT.

Scholars and students of Scottish demographic history, especially for the eighteenth century, are only too aware of the two pillars for statistical studies that are provided by the survey produced for 1755 by the Reverend Alexander Webster, and that produced for the 1790's by Sir John Sinclair which is now known as the Old Statistical Account. That these publications exist at all was also dependent upon the participation, and co-operation by varying degrees, of eight hundred or so established church ministers. These two surveys are inextricably linked because the population figures for the respective parishes may have changed over the forty or so intervening years. Currently, scholars of Scottish history are virtually unanimous in recognising that prior to Webster's survey, there was virtually nothing that could provide a reliable guide as to what the population of Scotland may have been. Had more of the Poll or Hearth Tax records survived, then some projections for the 1690s might have been feasible, but evidently this was not to be. Mitchison's critique of the shortcomings of Webster's survey are aired in chapter four of this work, but like many of Scotland's sources, they are all that we have of that ilk for the period. The Old Statistical Account not only complements Webster by providing a comparison of population changes at parish level, but also provides the second crucial point upon a graph from which both backward and forward looking projections of overall population statistics can be made. But apart from the rare mention of one or two dignitaries, neither Webster or the *O.S.A.* mention individuals, or differentiate between the tenantry, subtenantry and others. Irrespective of their imperfections both surveys are however fundamental for estimating and projecting what the number of inhabitants may have been in specific locations, in periods well beyond those for which both surveys were intended.

OTHER PUBLISHED SOURCES.

The Scottish Genealogy Society, The Scottish History Society, The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, The Scottish Record Society, The Spalding Club and The Stair

THE SOURCES, OUTLINED

Society, with their invaluable *Guide to the National Archives of Scotland*. These are perhaps only a few of the better known among the many organisations whose publications on historical matters often contain printed listings derived from original sources that involve all of Scotland's social groups. For example many of the familiar court, church, burgh and burial records published by the S.R.S. are already well used by student, scholar, and family historian, although the S.R.S. and several of the other organisations continue to reproduce lesser known sources which are invaluable to this and many similar projects. Gibson & Medlycott's *Local Census Listings 1522-1930*, incorporates local population listings throughout Britain for both well known and obscure locations alike. But it was the dearth of listings for seventeenth-century Scotland and this work in particular, that highlighted the need to bring together the various sources that are currently scattered like solitary gems throughout the aforementioned collections of records and publications. This provided the impetus for a subsidiary project to this work of identifying potential sources for specific areas and integrate this hitherto dispersed material into the existing Scottish O.P.R. numbering system to which it is likely to pertain. It is envisaged that these additions to the existing pre 1855 O.P.Rs would include Gifts & Deposits (G.Ds), examination rolls, Forfeited Estate papers, and any other sources, especially on local population listings, which would facilitate expanding our knowledge not only of that particular parish but also of the general location. For example:

330. AUCHTERGAVEN (PERTHSHIRE).

Courts:	Dunkeld Commissariat (CC7). Perth Sheriff (SC49).
Regality or Barony:	Grandtully (GD1/53/20, SC49/76/1), Murthly (GD121).
O.P.R.	B. 1741-1854. M. 1742-61, 1769-73, 1803 (1 only), 1823-54.
CH2/22.	minutes & accounts 1740+
CH3/31/1-4.	Associate Congregation: minutes & some baptisms 1789+
Estate Papers:	Murthly Castle Muniments: GD121(/1/37: parishioners 1650c).
	Mercer of Aldie: (GD1/787).
	Nairn (of Strathour): E774 (forfeited est).
	Mansfield (Scone Palace): N.R.A.S.776.
	Graeme of Inchbrakie: N.L.S. Acc.19590-9.
	Robertson of Tullibelton: (Perth dist. Archives).
Misc:	CS7/336. p175: parishioners 1619.

THE SOURCES, OUTLINED

By using an updateable loose-leaf binder system in the traditional sense, or by making this data available for revisions and contributions on the Internet, this reference work could always be expanded further by giving for example a more detailed breakdown of what are minutes, accounts, examination/communion rolls and other matters in the CH2, CH3 etc. church collections, and possibly the Commissariat Court testaments and inventories which may pertain to each parish. At the burgh, regional and county level the categories of sources surviving for the Burgh, Regality, Barony, Sheriff and Commissariat courts could also be detailed.

CONCLUSIONS.

Summarising therefore the foregoing sources in the order in which they are most likely to contain information about individuals, about all of Scotland's social groups in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, foremost are the surviving church records of births, baptisms, proclamations, marriages, deaths and burials, irrespective of what religious denomination that church may have been; together with any session minutes and accounts for that church, where these can include examination (or communicant) rolls. Also included with this first category are the death and burial registers that were kept by local civic authorities including the records of lairs, and the fees pertaining thereto. These were kept separately by some of the burghs.

The second category includes collections of records and sources such as estate papers which have been gifted or deposited with national and regional archives. At their initial conception these estate papers or business records may not necessarily have set out to include information about social groups, but local population and census listings of inhabitants are to be found among such.¹ Also in this category is the information derived from the records from surveys which at their concept had set out to be all-inclusive, such as the late seventeenth century Hearth and Poll Tax returns. These were frequently utilised for formulating conclusions for Scotland as a whole. But as little survives from these surveys, and as that which does appears to omit a substantial proportion of the population who were evidently deemed untaxable (see

¹ For example the 'Urquhart Census of Portpatrick', N.A.S. GD1/336/2, & GD1/335/3.

chapter 4), then these two sources can only be considered as reflecting the activities of specific social groups in certain counties, burghs, and a number of other scattered locations.¹

The third category incorporates sources such as the processes (documents pertaining to a case) kept by the various courts, and the registers of hornings. Lists of tenants are frequently found among both of these collections. The court processes are one of the most fascinating sources to explore as they contain copious lists of debtors from all social groups. The chances of locating in them comprehensive local population listing for a specific parish or location are however slim, but not impossible. The registers of hornings may not be too onerous to search, neither are most of the collections of processes that survive from the seventeenth century. But as the amount of processes surviving from the more litigious eighteenth century can in most courts involve hundreds of boxes, it would perhaps be correct to refer to such exercises as projects, requiring the allocation of a substantial amount of time and funding.

Ordinary folk below the rank of tenant do therefore appear from time to time in some of the various court records detailed above. On occasion they appear as individuals but more often they are accompanied by a number of others, as is evident from the Privy Council registers, though rarely if ever do they appear in these sources in sufficient numbers from which population trends can be ascertained. Those sources that have already been published are undoubtedly a tremendous aid and time saver, although endeavouring to ascertain exactly what was published, where and by whom, is currently a research exercise in itself.

After appraising many of the aforementioned sources, several collections of seventeenth and eighteenth-century records were identified as possessing a degree of potential for enabling comparative studies to be made. Among these were a number of useful studies by other scholars, such as a list of the inhabitants aged over 12 in Penninghame and Whithorn in Wigtownshire.² But for this and a number of other

¹ The N.A.S. Court of Exchequer repertory books also include a listing of some of the Hearth and Poll Tax rolls that are kept in other local and regional archives.

² R. A. Houston, 'Parish Listings and Social Structure: Penninghame and Whithorn in Perspective' *Local Population Studies*, 23 (1979).

THE SOURCES, OUTLINED

published studies, comparable material in either the eighteenth or seventeenth centuries was not readily identified. However, of prime interest at that time for formulating the two contrasting rural study areas, and the one urban, for which comparable material in both centuries did appear to exist, were:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| Auchtergaven parish, Perthshire | - | mainland, lowland agricultural, good arable. |
| part Argyll Estates and Tiree | - | typical highland and Islands, crofting, fishing. |
| West Kirk, Edinburgh | - | part suburban then eighteenth century urban. |
| with Perth as a potential reserve | - | also an urban study area. |

Angus (Forfarshire) was also considered as a good agricultural mainland county, but as the estates there have already received a lot of attention from Devine, Blair-Imrie, and a host of other scholars, Auchtergaven in Perthshire, with its fair share of arable acres, was therefore seen as being a distinct contrast to the other rural study area to be examined, which is situated among the crofting and fishing communities on the shores and islands of Argyllshire's rugged west coast. But leaving aside for a while the more obvious requirement that these localities should possess geographical, rural and urban contrasts, fundamental to the selection of the final locations had been the desire to make a unique contribution by presenting and utilising lesser known source material, the existence of which many scholars, students, and family historians, may hitherto have been unaware of. Apart from a cursory mention buried among the Murthly Castle Muniments, no references in other works had been seen to a c.1650 listing of the inhabitants of Auchtergaven parish aged over 15 years, or the c.1790 listing of the inhabitants of the Obneys district of that parish, which are both examined in chapter 2. A significant and undeniable factor was also this student's personal knowledge of the geography, and of most of the locations, both within and around the area of Auchtergaven parish.

Foremost among the lesser known sources for the Argyll estates and Tiree which appear to have been under-utilised hitherto,¹ were the registers of hornings, and especially that of 1675 by the earl of Argyll, primarily against the Macleans (examined

¹ R. E. Tyson, 'Landlord policies and population change in North-East Scotland and the Western Isles, 1755-1841' in *Northern Scotland*, 19, (1999), 63-74. - Tyson does make comparisons between Grange and Rothiemay in Banffshire and Tiree, but this late eighteenth and early nineteenth century focus is outwith our c.1630-c.1790 study period.

in more detail in chapter 3). Although this horning of 1675 is undoubtedly against the main possessors only it still reaches out, from the darkness surrounding seventeenth-century Scottish west coast research, to provide a tentative link with the useful and comparative eighteenth-century surveys of the Argyll estates that were undertaken in 1716, 1768, and 1779, and are additional to those of Webster for 1755 and of the O.S.A. for the 1790s.

The examination rolls of the parish of St Cuthbert's, which survive for the 1630s, and are mostly intact for a comparative period for the years 1749-50, had been instrumental in making that parish a prime subject for our study. But as associated and protracted investigations failed to produce a means whereby the subtenantry could be identified from these rolls, eventually, the records for the neighbouring burgh of Edinburgh and some of its sub-parishes were able to assist in that particular quest. Although the study of the St. Cuthbert's examinations rolls may still have made some contribution towards our knowledge of how an original and lesser known source can be utilised, it must be recognised that a survey carried out by an Edinburgh minister in 1678, which had evidently been utilised as a part of the original compilation of the O.S.A., was, together with the local seventeenth-century taxation rolls, crucial for providing the required links with the far wider range of records that are extant for the Edinburgh sub-parishes in the eighteenth century. These aforementioned studies are therefore explained in far greater depth in the three chapters that follow.

2. THE PEOPLE OF AUCHTERGAVEN c.1650 - c.1790: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE.

As a part of the strategy of founding these studies on one urban and two contrasting rural areas, documentation estimated as having the potential for this quest was identified for the rural parish of Auchtergaven in Perthshire. The name Auchtergaven is said to be a Celtic term descriptive of its situation (high meadows) ¹, which is centred eight miles north of Perth on the slopes of the Grampian mountain range known as the 'Highland Line', which runs from south west to north east across the north west quarter of the parish. Although the Highland Line is a physical reality, it is also recognised by historians as marking the boundary of a linguistic and cultural division which was becoming less evident in this part of Perthshire by the eighteenth century. The *Old Statistical Account of Scotland (O.S.A)*, gives the parish of Auchtergaven as nine miles from east to west and five miles from north to south, the whole being 12,000 acres Scotch. While the hills lend themselves to sheep farming, the majority of the parish to the south and east can be said to consist of good arable soil, which in the late eighteenth century was still intermixed with 'muirs or uncultivated ground'.² Auchtergaven was therefore typical of many of the rural parishes in central, eastern, and lowland Scotland, in that it possessed a fair quantity of good agricultural land, together with some hill pasture, with much of the lower ground gradually being transformed by the agricultural improvements which were very much a feature of the changes that were underway in these parts, especially throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century.

One of the first objectives was to try and identify sources on local population for this parish which might pre-date the figure of 1,784 inhabitants shown by the *O.S.A.* of circa 1795, and if possible pre-date Webster's figure of 1,677 inhabitants in Auchtergaven in 1755. In the course of this exercise it was noted that the established church old parish registers and session minutes, which can at times have contained such listings, are not extant until 1740. In fact Auchtergaven's post 1740 established church

¹ S. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland* (London 1846), 78.

² *O. S. A.*, XII, 29.

records are similar to most in Scotland for the eighteenth century in that they have a very limited value for the construction, or reconstitution, of acceptable population listings which would include all social groups. There are gaps in these registers, and not until 1772 are mothers' names recorded in the baptisms, the latter being a crucial aid in the identification of families.¹ Another factor of significance is that many of the inhabitants of the parish would have belonged to the seceder kirk. For although no local Associate Congregation records survive until 1806, that church seems to have been strongly supported in Auchtergaven well before that date, just as it was elsewhere in this part of lowland Perthshire in the mid to late eighteenth century.²

Where they happen to survive, the Poll Tax records of the 1690s contain a unique wealth of detail about income and occupational strata, unrivalled by many other sources to this day. The post 1851 census returns provide a lot of information about occupations, families, and migration, but the added dimension of income levels has perhaps given impetus to Poll Tax findings being held up by many as the shining example to which all seventeenth and eighteenth-century projects pertaining to population studies should aspire, and be compared. However, it should not come as a surprise that there are virtually no surviving Poll Tax records for Auchtergaven or for Perthshire as a whole.³ This work is not however an apology for the lesser sources which do not possess the data to produce the myriad of permutations on social statistics available from the Poll Tax. This work sets out to meet the challenge of identifying information from population listings which do not include income and occupational aids. An objective is to demonstrate that information can still be gleaned from obscure sources where little is immediately evident; an example is where a Hearth Tax roll provides no more than just the names and number of hearths. In this respect 181 souls

¹ Registrar-General, *Detailed List of Old Parish Registers of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1872).

² I. D. Whyte, *Scotland's Society & Economy in Transition c.1650-c.1760* (London, 1997), 61. also: C. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (London, 1997)., and: N.A.S. Associate Congregation, Bankfoot. CH3/31.

³ Currently no Poll Tax returns have been located for rural Perthshire, although these studies unearthed the 1696 returns for Burgh of Perth in Perth & Kinross District Archives B59/22/24. and for Burgh of Dunkeld at N.A.S. SC49/70/1, both not listed by N.A.S. in E70 inventory.

are listed in a surviving Hearth Tax roll for Auchtergaven.¹

Some poor may have no hearths at all, but it is possible that those named on the 1694 Hearth Tax roll for Auchtergaven are the heads of a particular household, and the first tentative clue about a location for these folk is evident where they are listed under or beside their respective landowners. In this Hearth Tax record, just five proprietors are given as follows: Lady Dowager of Nairn, Lord Nairn (of Strathour), Laird Tullibelton (Robertson²), Mr William Wallace, and Laird Innernytie (Elphinstone³). An example of how some of these lesser known sources might be utilised, is to try and locate valuation rolls or sasines dated as near as is convenient to c.1694, which might confirm who the proprietors of Tullibelton and Innernyte were around the time that the Hearth Tax was being collected. Then should rentals for some of these landowners also survive for the period, the possibility emerges of identifying specific locations for some of the possessors of these hearths. Subsequently a ratio of tenant to other subtenant Hearth Tax payers might be compiled for a particular landowner's holdings within the parish. A complication for attempting this strategy is where Auchtergaven's Hearth Tax roll names 57 poor, representing a massive 31.5 per cent of those listed. Hearths are still noted for most of these poor, but whether a minimum payment was received for them is not specified, as they are not listed as being under their particular landlord's jurisdiction. One solution considered was to spread their number proportionally among the five proprietors, whose tax paying tenants are already listed. However, at that stage crude generalisations of this nature were shelved while other sources on population for Auchtergaven remained to be looked for. An afterthought however is exactly what the term 'poor' may have meant here. If 31.5 per cent of those listed were too poor to tax, is this in fact a rare listing of possessors of hearths who were deemed untaxable?

¹ N.A.S. Hearth Tax Rolls, Perthshire. E69/10/1-2.

² Donald Robertson had sasine 26 June 1671 of the lands of Little Tullibelton proceeding on a charter given by the Dean superior. - noted in J. Hunter, *The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld, 1660-1689* (London, n.d.), vol. I, 262. - also inhibition 14 June 1677 against Donald Robertson of Tullibelton, in vol. ii, 157.

³ Wm Marshall, *Historic Scenes in Perthshire* (Edinburgh, 1881), 133, lists Innernyte as the seat of the Elphinstones until 1746.

MURTHLY CASTLE MUNIMENTS.

The Stewarts of Grandtully's Murthly Castle muniments show that in addition to their holdings centred on Grandtully between Pitlochry and Aberfeldy in highland Perthshire, this estate also held lands just south of the Highland Line and north of Perth in Little Dunkeld, Auchtergaven and Kinclaven parishes, and in the ancient barony of Strathord (fig iii). The estate papers for some of these southern areas of Grandtully's holdings were found to include local population listings which not only mentioned their tenants, but also many of the elusive subtenants, cottars and other ordinary folk. Sources of interest are noted under ref: GD121/1/37/bundle 207/item:

1. 1643. 'Roll of Fencible men in Little Dunkeld parish'.
- names 102 men, and the landowners whose property they occupy.
 2. 1650. 'Roll of Fencible men in Strathbraan, Little Dunkeld & Logiealochie'.
- names 67 persons in Strathbraan only¹ (therefore this list appears incomplete).
 6. n.d. (1650c). 'Names of men in Little Dunkeld, Logyallochie, Auchtergaven Caputh and Cluny parishes'². - names 139 (fencible) men and their locations.
 7. n.d. (1650c). 'Names of the people and paroschinaris of Auchtergawin past the age of fyftein zeires'. - naming and locating a total of 866 males and females.
- and June 1660. Those in Auchtergaven aged 8-15 years GD121/1/67/408/27.

Item 7 demonstrates that estate papers, and this collection in particular, would appear to be a real gem of seventeenth-century information.(see fig ii).

The circa 1650 date for this 'Names of the Paroschinaris', was initially derived from the content, handwriting, and dates of the other documents which accompany it in bundle 7. This item has not been mentioned hitherto in reference works such as Gibson & Medlycott's useful *Local Census Listings 1522-1930* or among Flinn's equally useful listing of items of this nature.³

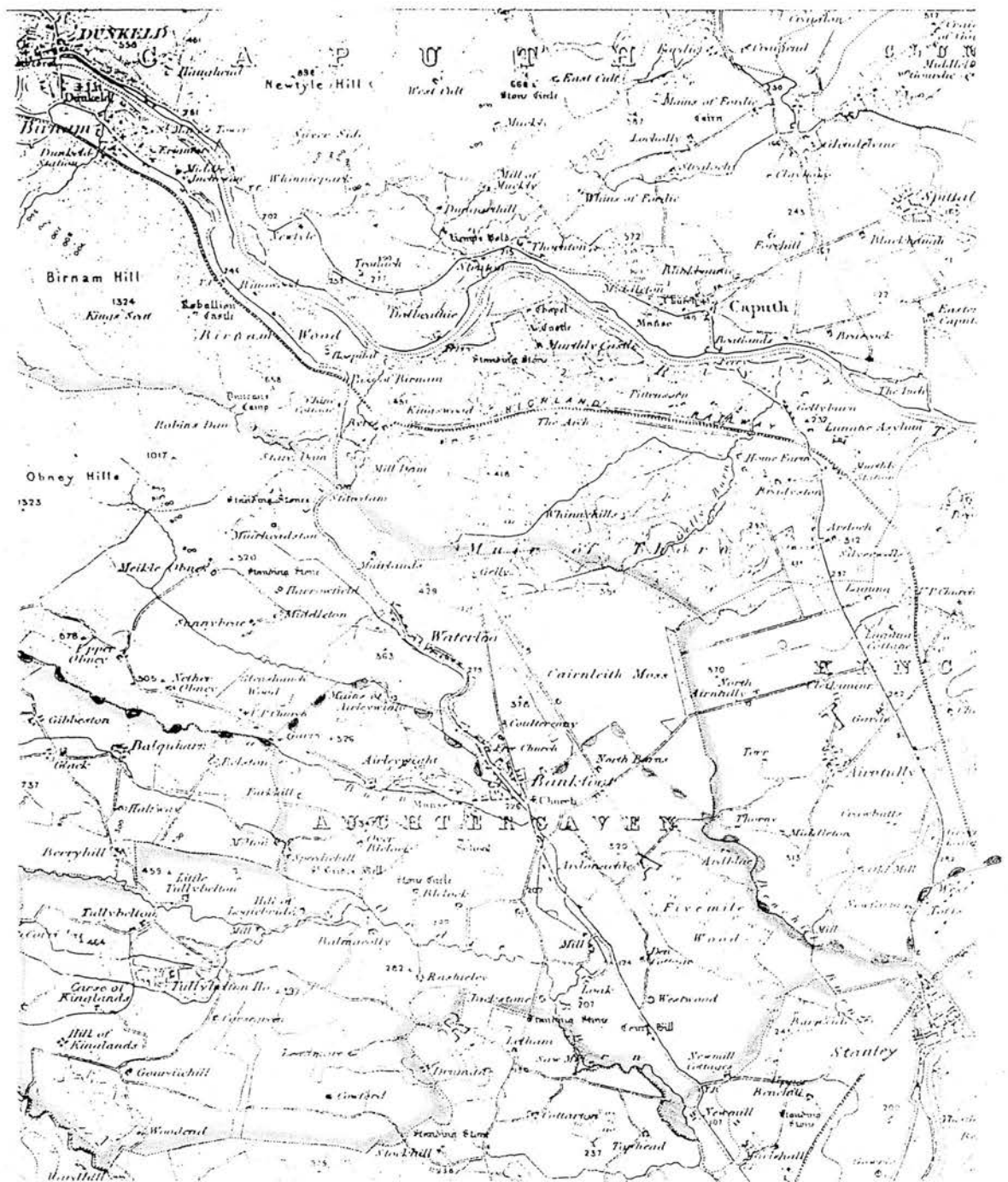
¹ Strathbraan is also in Little Dunkeld parish, for which no O.P.Rs are extant until 1759.

² O.P.R.s are not extant for Caputh until 1670, Cluny until 1702, and Auchtergaven from 1740.

³ Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 68. Minister's Examination Rolls.

[illegible]

The names off the people and paroschinars of
Auchtergawin past the aige of fyftein yeires. c.1650.
(N.A.S. ref: GD121/37/207/7. Reduced 35%)



AUCHTERGAVEN & MURTHLEY ESTATE BOUNDARIES

- = Auchtergaven parish boundaries (pre 1890s)
 - ~~~~~ = Approximate southern limit of Obnies district and Murthley Estates
- (1 inch = 1 mile reproduced to scale, 1st edition Ordnance Survey c.1860. N. L. S. Map Room)

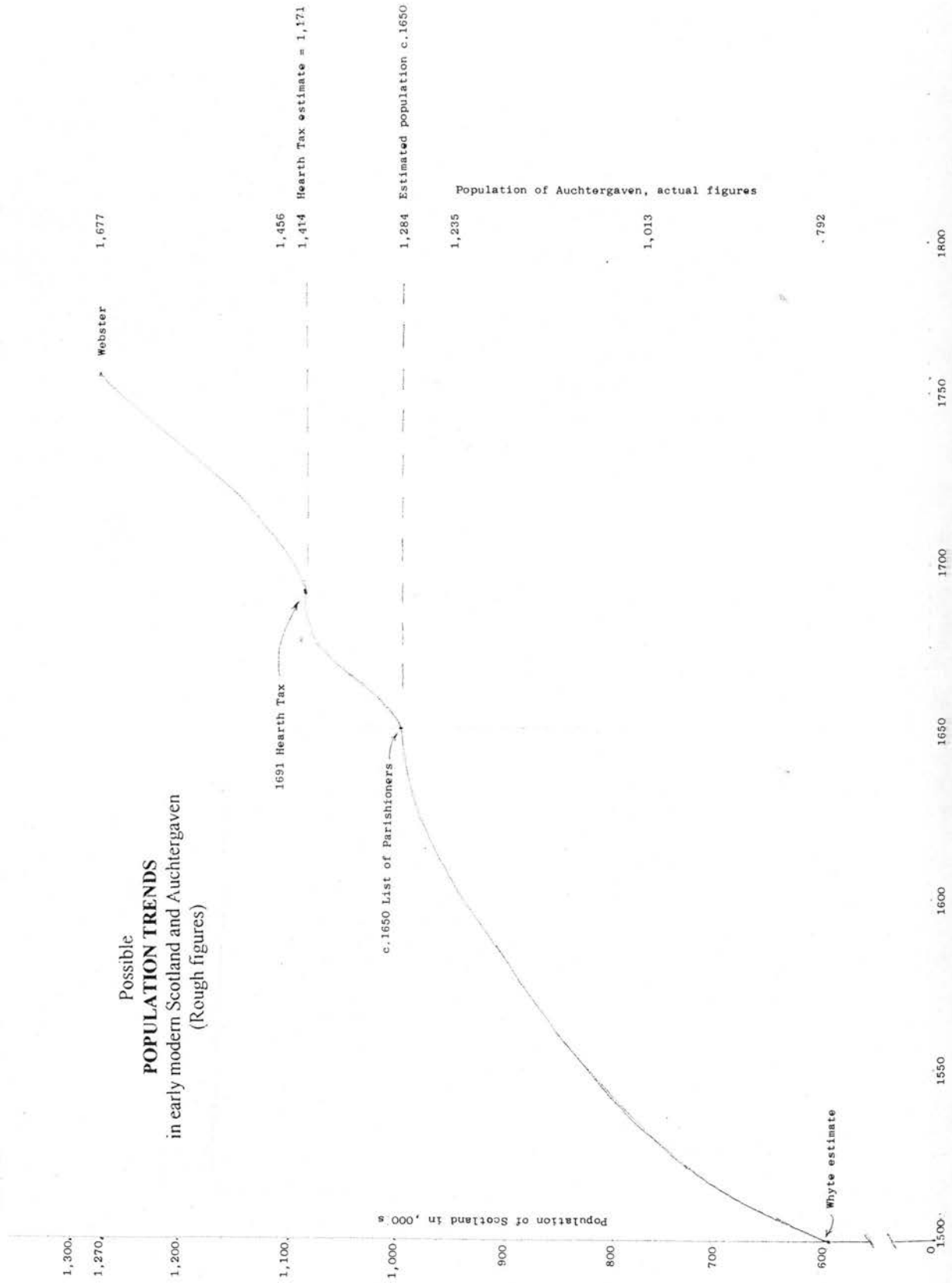
There is no indication as to why this c 1650 survey was made. That women aged 15 or over are listed suggests that its purpose was not solely military. It may well be a remnant of Auchtergaven's long lost pre 1740 kirk session minutes, as those listed all seem to be of communion age. The document could therefore be compared with examination rolls in a number of other locations. Although no comparable material for this project was found for those aged between 8 and 15 years in 1660 listed in GD121/1/67/408/27, some handwriting similarities and the familiar surnames of the 90 youngsters listed therein deemed it to be very relevant to c.1650 document, and for our subsequent calculations.

How comprehensive a listing of inhabitants is this c.1650 'Names of the Paroschinaris' likely to have been? Its title can only be taken at face value, had all of the children aged under 15 been included then the total of 866 would increase. As a result of a data-base compilation (Appendix 1), the total number of parishioners aged over 15 years was found to be at least 866, not the total of 857 stated by the original clerk. This anomaly is probably due to later additions evident on the lists. Also, instances are noted such as that on line 310: 'Strathour's Lady, - and ther servands', therefore at least two additional unnamed servants were allowed for on lines 311 and 312. The final two columns headed 1647 and 1654 on the database compilation were utilised to help identify those who also appear in rentals of those dates, as the rentals for these two years were more comprehensive than the others for the period.

In endeavouring to ascertain exactly what the population of Auchtergaven was likely to have been around c.1650, we can begin by working from the tentative data for Scotland as a whole estimated by scholars such as Ian Whyte. Whyte notes that estimates of Scotland's population for the year 1500 vary from 500,000 to 700,000, for the year 1700 from 800,000 to 1,270,000, with historians favouring 1,100,000, and that Webster's figure of 1,265,000 in 1755 can be accepted with some confidence¹. Based upon the foregoing figures by Whyte and Webster, an early-modern Population Trends graph can be plotted from 600,000 persons in Scotland in 1500, through to 1,270,000 in 1755. Then noting that Webster gives Auchtergaven's population in 1755 as 1,677,

¹ I. D. Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution* (London 1995), 113.

Fig iv



by extrapolating this figure back along the Population Trends graph, the equally proportional population for Auchtergaven in 1650 can be estimated as 1,284. As 866 persons aged over 15 are listed in the c.1650 'Names of the Paroschinaris', this 1,284 estimate indicates that 33 per cent of Auchtergaven's population c.1650, may have been aged under 15 years (see fig iv). Nevertheless, this figure is quite different from the 46 per cent aged under 15 or 16 years that was estimated in a similar exercise for Kinghorn parish in chapter 1.¹

The pressing question from this Population Trends projection derived from Whyte and Webster was whether a community of which 33 per cent of the inhabitants may have been aged under 15, was anywhere near the norm for mid seventeenth century Scotland? Once again the challenge was to identify acceptable data which could be utilised for reaching back to compare with this remote marker in time.

A second comparative opinion was obtained where the O.S.A. for the 1790s shows that 44.90 per cent of the population of Scotland's Eastern Lowlands were aged under 20 years, and 25.09 per cent were aged under 10, suggesting a median figure of 35 per cent aged under 15 in the 1790s.² Hollingsworth uses Webster's corrected ten-year groupings to supply more detailed information about his population figures for Scotland in 1755,³ with 44.11 per cent aged under 20 and 25.48 per cent aged under 10, suggesting a median figure of 34.8 per cent aged under 15. Projecting age structures over such periods is complicated by not knowing how fast the population was growing, and whether there were cohort effects such as the famine of 1623. Currently there are no specific figures of this nature for the mid seventeenth century, and Whyte states 'that there was a substantial growth of population in Scotland during the seventeenth century'.⁴ The estimate that 33 per cent of the parishioners of Auchtergaven may have been 15 or under c.1650, would therefore seem to conform to Hollingsworth and the

¹ Similar population trend projections were not constructed later for Tiree or Edinburgh, as both have population figures from sources that pre date Webster.

² O.S.A. in Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 263.

³ T. H. Hollingsworth in Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 258.

⁴ Whyte, *Scotland's Society & Economy in Transition*, 198 & 231.

O.S.A. formulary, but is questionably low for the seventeenth century.

Given that the comprehensiveness of the c.1650 'Names of the Paroschinaris' is unknown, and considering that the Population Trends projection suggests Auchtergaven's population could have been higher than the c.1650 listing indicates, then the possibility arises that this listing may not include all persons aged 15 or over, especially the transient, poor, vagrants, and (should it be an examination roll) any non-communicants. At this point it should also be recalled that just forty years or so after the c.1650 listing, the 1694 Hearth Tax roll for Auchtergaven indicated that a substantial 31.5 per cent of those named on that tax roll were simply listed as 'poor'. We should not however assume that such a high percentage of poor existed c.1650, for as Michael Braddick explains: though the Hearth Tax excluded those not paying poor rates, houses worth less than 20s per annum, and houses with only one chimney, we cannot assume that all of the exempt were in fact poor.¹ The c.1650 'Names of the people and paroschinaris of Auchtergawin past the age of fyftein zeires' is undoubtedly a significant document, which could contribute a great deal to our knowledge of this part of rural Scotland, but to suspect that it is not a comprehensive listing of all of the inhabitants may not be idle speculation. For example the c.1650 Auchtergaven list resembles an examination roll where only those aged over 15 are noted, and is comparable with virtually identical lists for St Cuthbert's parish specified as 'Examination Rolls' which are studied in chapter 4. The number of persons on these St Cuthbert's examination rolls were also found to be much lower than other comparable figures for the population of St Cuthbert's as a whole given by the ministers, and by Webster. One inescapable conclusion was that nearly 20 per cent of the inhabitants of St Cuthbert's appear to have been deemed as unexaminable.² In the light of the St Cuthbert's experience the reason why Auchtergaven's c.1650 figure for 866 adult inhabitants is much lower than that of 1,284 for the parish as a whole estimated from our Population Trends graph, could also be because a proportion of Auchtergaven's

¹ M. J. Braddick, *The Nerves of State - Taxation and the Financing of the English State 1558-1714* (Manchester, 1996), 159.

² See Chapter 4 'Identifying the urban subtenants and others', where near 20 per cent of St. Cuthbert's population appear to have been unexaminable.

population may likewise have been deemed unexaminable, or because there could have been c.1650, or even earlier, a mortality crisis in that parish for which conclusive documentary evidence does not exist. One explanation for a possible dip in Auchtergaven's population c.1650 is that the period coincides with Cromwell's invasion of Scotland. A Murthly estate rental for the 1645-48 crops lists contributions by the tenants to Lt. Col Murray's Regiment. It is possible that the willingness to make such contributions may have been linked to many of Auchtergaven's men serving in that Regiment, and hence their loss during that war. January 1649 had seen the execution of Charles I, and on the 5th February 1649 at the Market Cross in Edinburgh, his eldest son the 18 year old Charles was proclaimed King. The Scots knew when they made Charles King of Great Britain, and not just 'of Scots', that they would have to fight Cromwell to establish this right, which on 3rd September 1650 culminated in Cromwell's victory at Dunbar. This left Charles king of Scotland north of the Forth, where he was crowned on the opposite bank of the Tay to Auchtergaven, at Scone, on 1st January 1651. A new army was then raised for Charles which exactly a year after Dunbar, was again defeated by Cromwell at Worcester on 3rd September 1651. Though the c.1650 'Names of the Paroschinaris of Auchtergawin', may resemble an examination roll, the thought remains that this survey may have been associated with the aforementioned preparations by the local heritors, prior to Dunbar, or Worcester. But as this listing also includes all females aged over 15, it hardly resembles a roll of the able bodied fencible men.

Accepting therefore that the c.1650 'Names off the people and paroschinaris of Auchtergawin past the age of fyftein zeires', and our estimates along the Population Trends Graph are unlikely to be comprehensive listings, the data acquired from these two sources can nevertheless still be refined to some degree by making further comparisons which may provide us with a much clearer picture of the population of Auchtergaven at that time. We can for example test the more realistic Flinn-*O.S.A.* derived figure (see p 48) that 35 per cent of Auchtergaven's population were likely to have been aged 15 or under, by deducting the 866 in the c.1650 listing of the inhabitants aged 15 and over from the Population Trends estimate of 1,284 souls for that parish. This indicates that a total of 418 or 33 per cent of the inhabitants of Auchtergaven

c.1650-1660 were aged under 15 years (see table 1). Therefore compared to the Flinn-OSA's figure of 35 per cent aged under 15 nationally, our 33 per cent estimate would seem to be quite acceptable.

These calculations based upon this particular 1,284 estimate for the total population of Auchtergaven c.1650-60, does however appear to leave no room whatsoever for their having been any transients, vagrants, or even non-communicants in this particular parish. As to sources for verifying such an extrapolation sadly no seventeenth-century Auchtergaven kirk session minutes, accounts, or poor rolls, survive. Other figures on local population which are perhaps comparable to those derived from the c.1650 listing for Auchtergaven, are the figures for those signing the confession of faith in Kinghorn in 1581. Both simply name around 800 persons of communion age, and by using the same formulary a high 46 per cent of Kinghorn's population are estimated as being children (see Chapter 1, Church Session Minutes). This percentage for potential non-communicants in Kinghorn may indeed have possibly included a number of transients, poor, vagrants, and other non-adherents for which documentary evidence has yet to surface.

It should also be mentioned that for all we know the c.1650 listing of 866 inhabitants may already include non-communicants. But that there would appear to be nobody that is unaccounted for who could be suspected of being either transients or vagrants, is certainly quite a contrast to the 31.5 per cent who are questionably listed as poor on the Hearth Tax roll forty or so years later, and likewise those missing from the Poll Tax were undoubtedly exempt for similar reasons. Therefore with regard to paying the Hearth Tax, it might be unfair to conclude that then as now, when it came to paying taxes, the reason for the large increase in those claiming to be poor, is perhaps self evident. The foregoing exercises demonstrate that although Auchtergaven has no Poll Tax roll detailing income and occupational strata, much can still be gleaned from far humbler sources on population, and in this respect one cannot ignore a third opinion on the subject of Auchtergaven's population, which originates in part from the work undertaken by others on the 1694 Hearth Tax rolls.



The Hearth Tax rolls do not detail the inhabitants of a household, but Flinn notes that for the Lowlands as a whole, the average ratio was 4.8 persons per hearth¹, and that in most areas only 60-70 per cent are listed as paying the tax. Therefore Flinn's figure of 30-40 per cent not paying the Hearth Tax, is not too dissimilar to the 31.5 per cent listed as 'poor' in Auchtergaven. Consequently if there were 30-40 per cent not listed as paying Hearth Tax as Flinn suggests, who would have been additional to the 181 persons or households listed for Auchtergaven,² then this number could be increased proportionally to $(181 + 30-40 \text{ per cent}) = 234-253$, indicating the population of Auchtergaven parish was $(234-253 \times 4.8 =)$ between 1,125-1,216 inhabitants in 1694. The higher figure is below but near to what the population of Auchtergaven may have been then, on the other hand the lower figure based on multiplying 234 households 4.8 persons which produces just 1,125 inhabitants. This or a median figure of 1,171 is an unusual dip in the 40-50 years since the 1,284 population estimate for c.1650-60. In these circumstances a second opinion was thought prudent. By extrapolating along the Population Trends graph (fig iv), it can be seen that the population of Auchtergaven in 1694 could have been around 1,414 souls. As this is a substantial 20 per cent higher than our 1,171 median figure originating from Flinn's work, it is very questionable. That 31.5 per cent of Auchtergaven's recognised population in 1694 were unable to pay taxes, is not untoward, but where a source suggests that in fact 20 per cent of the potential inhabitants are unaccounted for, possibly because these folk simply did not belong or not recognised as 'settled', is cause for concern. This is especially so in a rural environment, where most people would have known who was who and strangers were soon identified; unless of course they may have been casually squatting, just as many travelling folk do to this day, in a fairly inaccessible or seldom visited part of the parish. Todd seems adamant that the kirk sessions were all-powerful in examining parishioners, and cites an array of fines imposed by a range of parishes upon those caught harbouring strangers, Sabbath breaking by working, drinking, playing games, and not attending sermons. For example Falkirk session 'was so distraught at the failure of its earlier

¹ Flinn, *Scottish Population History*. 200.

² N.A.S. Hearth Tax rolls Perthshire. E69/19/1-2.

efforts that it introduced a 30s penalty for first time offenders', and in the Highland parish of Inveravon 20-25 per cent did not attend sermons.¹ The need for taxing non-attendance not only acknowledges a problem, it also begs the dual questions of the untaxable and unexaminable. Bardgett's study of the surviving church attendance records for Monifieth demonstrates that even in the late sixteenth century, and in spite of the flush of Reformation, the failure of the congregation to win over the greater proportion of the population of the parish was clearly evident.²

Murthly Estates' c.1650 'Names off the people and paroschinaris of Auchtergawin past the age of fyftein zeires', did however give impetus to the all-important challenge of endeavouring to ascertain what the ratio of tenants to subtenants, cottars and other ordinary folk may have been, in mid seventeenth-century Auchtergaven. In a complete contrast to the cornucopia of detail flowing from the Poll Tax records, this document does not specify who the tenants were, let alone the various occupations and income strata. It virtually does little more than list names at a location. The methodology utilised for extracting data from these humble and rather scant resources does not pretend to be perfect, but until further documentation for this distant period comes to light, extrapolations and rationalisations invariably have to suffice.

Murthly Estates were not sole proprietors of Auchtergaven (see fig iii), but their surviving rentals for the seventeenth century indicate that they controlled sufficient of the parish to facilitate the compilation of rudimentary calculations for ascertaining what the ratio of tenants to other ordinary folk may have been there, around three hundred and fifty years ago. The importance of the c.1650 'Names of the Paroschinaris' was significantly enhanced by the presence of Murthly estate rentals for the years from 1645 to 1654³, with the most comprehensive rentals being for the years 1647 and 1654. By comparing these two rentals with the document, with the exception of those aged under 15, an indication of the ratio of tenant to other subtenant households began to emerge. Many, but not all, of the names of the potential tenants listed on the 1647 and 1654

¹ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, 39 & 45.

² F. D. Bardgett, 'The Monifieth Kirk Register' in *RSCH*, 23, (1987-89), 184-85.

³ N.A.S.; *Murthly Castle Muniments*; GD121/1/box 42/bundle 224/1, & box 41/bundle 223/39.

rentals matched up with the first name at each location in the c.1650 'Names of the Paroschinaris'. Where the names differed, this could be indicating that those tenancies or holdings had simply changed hands within the 1647 to 1654 period.

Of the few sources that can be compared with the Auchtergaven c.1650 listing, whether examination rolls or similar, it is usual that the first name and household at each location is highly likely to be that of the main tenant there. This is supported where a number of persons in the c.1650 listing are noted as being a 'servitor' to the first named at the location.¹ Also, the inspection of the rentals for 1647 and 1654 do verify who many of the tenants were, and also indicated that the c.1650 date for the 'Names of the Paroschinaris' would seem to be correct within a year or two.

As a further aid for identifying exactly who was likely to be a member of the tenant or subtenant's household on the c.1650 listing, this can be straightforward where a person is given as spouse, son, or daughter to the evident head of the house. Such distinctions are however not always given. At times the name of a male potential householder is followed by that of a female with a different surname,² and then by anything from 1 to 4 persons with the evident householder's surname, who are presumably his wife and children. In this and similar studies servant inclusive units are often recognised as a family. Where a person is noted as brother or sister to the potential householder, and where a son (or daughter) had a spouse or family, these are deemed mature separate units, whether or not they were servants to the householder. Where two or more persons with the same surname are at one location, this is treated as being potential parent with offspring, unless one of the aforementioned 1647 or 1654 rentals indicates that the location was a shared tenancy. Shared tenancies were not unusual in the mid seventeenth century, but quite rare in lowland Perthshire by the late eighteenth century, although the demise of the shared tenancy was evidently much slower in the highlands especially in locations further north and west. In contrast with our west coast study area, it is shown that as late as 1735 all but four of the sixteen touns on the island

¹ Apart from one potential minister and chamberlain, servitor is the only occupation which appears at some locations in the c.1650 listing of the inhabitants of Auchtergaven.

² Even the 1841 and 1851 census returns show evidence of wives retaining their maiden names.

parish of Tiree were held by a mean number of 4.25 tenants per toun.¹

Before calculating the Auchtergaven tenant to subtenantry ratios, it was crucial to consider our estimates derived from two differing population calculations:

1. Based on an estimate of 1,284 inhabitants the c.1650 listing of 866 persons aged over 15 years leaves 418, or an acceptable 33 per cent, below that age (see Table 1). But these figures left no room whatsoever for their being any unaccounted for transients in the parish, who could have been casual labourers or similar. Whereas:
2. Based upon the hearth tax returns and the same Population Trends Graph, these could be indicating that as much as 20 per cent of Auchtergaven's potential population may not have been deemed as eligible for tax purposes by 1694.

The results of this study to estimate the ratio of tenants to subtenants (from Appendix 1) and others in Auchtergaven c.1650, indicated that of these 866 potential inhabitants aged 15 or over, 220 (25.4 per cent) were likely to have been tenant households, producing a ratio of 1 tenant household to every 3 households of subtenants, cottars and other ordinary folk (see Table 2). That 74.6 per cent were of the subtenantry should, however, be qualified by the possibility that some of the more secure tenant households may in fact have been larger than those of the others.²

Sanderson has made a comprehensive and detailed study of the immediate fifteenth to sixteenth-century origins of that stratum of society referred to here as subtenants, cottars, and other ordinary folk. Sanderson explains that most main tenants could, with the landlord's consent, create subtenants, especially on a holding which had grown too large for one tenant to handle; this could produce a population increase as subtenants moved in.³ Cottars' or small holders' rights were more restricted than those of the tenants, although some cottars held more than one holding. Sanderson noted the size of some cottar holdings in the fifteenth century, where the Abbot of Coupar Angus let thirty-nine acres 'in form of cottary' to fourteen men. A cottar was an agricultural

¹ T. M. Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland 1660-1815* (Edinburgh 1994). 134.

² As was found by ; Z. Razi, *Life and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270-1400* (Cambridge, 1980). 94-7.

³ M. H. B. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the 16th Century* (Edinburgh 1982). 42-5.

labourer with a tied house who worked mostly for the tenant, but sometimes directly for the superior. By acquiring several cotlands a cottar might upgrade himself in the rural hierarchy. Sanderson then refers to the remaining class of rural dwellers, without customary rights, who were invariably wage earners. These could only be distinguished by their occupations, which range from general labourers, to skills such as ploughman, shepherd and grieve. These folk are given as normally 'living-in', like their employers' domestic servants. This tends to suggest that most of those who were 'living-in' were unmarried young adults. Farm labourers and other workers are evident in chamberlain's account books, and in local testaments, where wages are listed as due to them. But what proportion of the population of Auchtergaven, or other parishes, these wage earners may have constituted circa 1650, has yet to be ascertained.

Whyte does however point out that in the seventeenth century, the ratio of tenants to subtenants and others was likely to vary, especially between an upland or highland parish like Glentinar, and those in a lowland setting like Belhelvie. Whyte bases his figures on the Aberdeenshire 1695-6 poll tax returns. Aberdeenshire, Renfrewshire, and Edinburgh are three of the few counties for which the complete returns survive. Whyte notes that in Belhelvie parish where a tenant of one of the larger farms might employ half a dozen farm servants, as well as two or three cottars, 84 per cent of the adult population were below the rank of tenant. In Glentinar where the tendency was to have farms with several tenants of more modest means, these farms might have only two servants and no cottars.¹ Therefore only 50 per cent of the population of Glentinar were below the rank of tenant. A north west sector of Auchtergaven can be said to be upland pasture on the slopes of the 'Highland Line', but the parish as a whole is primarily lowland. Therefore the calculation that c.1650 around 76.6 per cent of Auchtergaven's population would have been below the rank of tenant is compatible with Whyte's findings (see Tables 1 and 2).

RURAL CHANGES FROM SEVENTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

For Perthshire and beyond, the progression from the seventeenth to eighteenth

¹ I. Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in 17th Century Scotland* (Edinburgh 1979). 38-40.

Table 1

COMPARING AUCHTERGAVEN'S c.1650 and 1660 LISTINGS
OF INHABITANTS WITH THE POPULATION TRENDS GRAPH:

Inhabitants c.1650 estimated from Populations Trends Graph (fig iv):	1,284.
less 866 on c.1650 List of Parishioners (communicants roll?) and	- 866.
less 90 age between 8 and 15 on the listing of 1660:	<u>- 90.</u>
leaving 328 or 25 per cent who could have been aged 0 to 7 years.	328.
Therefore $90 + 328 = 418$ or 33 per cent aged under 15 years.	

Table 2

ESTIMATING POTENTIAL TENANT TO SUBTENANTRY FIGURES
FOR AUCHTERGAVEN c.1650.

c.1650 List of Parishioners aged over 15 years:	866.
in potential tenant households from study (Appendix I):	220.
Therefore estimate of 25.4 per cent tenants to 74.6 per cent others.	

Note: Should the c.1650 figures only apply to the recognised 'settled' inhabitants of Auchtergaven and should there possibly be 20 per cent unaccounted for as the population calculations for the years 1691-94 on page 52 may be suggesting, then $866 + 20 \text{ per cent} = 1,039 - 220 = 819$ or 21.2 per cent tenants to 78.8 per cent others. In these circumstances an acceptable compromise median figure for c.1650 is a slight change to 23.3 per cent tenants to 76.7 per cent others.

century saw an increase in the number of weekly and annual markets.¹ Whatley notes 346 in Scotland between 1660 and 1707, compared to just 143 between 1550 and 1660, so extending trade to district and regional level, as opposed to local estate barter transactions, thereby reducing the dependence on subsistence farming, and drawing the marginal uplands in particular into a growing cash marketing economy. The transition from the seventeenth to eighteenth century also saw the reduction in the numbers of multiple tenancies and the more common use of longer written tacks (or leases).

Whatley cites the Aberdeenshire poll tax as demonstrating that a more stratified rural society was emerging, with fewer tenants and larger holdings, and probably a larger landless population. Relevant in this change from the seventeenth to eighteenth century was the extension of cultivated land throughout Scotland, by the draining of mosses and peat removal, with yields being improved in upland and plateau country like Auchtergaven, especially by liming and manuring. This, Whatley explains, led to spectacular rent increases in some parishes. That Scotland's economy was changing is also evident from its developing linen trade. This was virtually non-existent at the end of the sixteenth century, yet by 1700, had become its main export. Whatley observes that contemporaries saw the linen trade as an employer of the 'poor people', many of whom were no doubt swelling the ranks of the increasingly landless population.

The effects of this commercialisation were also beginning to change the way in which rents were paid, from payment in kind (i.e. by produce and labour), to payments in cash. This cash no doubt was very much welcomed by those larger landowners who were commuting to and from London following the 1707 Union of the Parliaments. But not all landowners were wasting resources abroad; many now attended European universities, absorbing the culture and climate of the Continent, which was to sow the seeds of the Scottish Enlightenment.² Scotland's landowners were nevertheless powerful, running what were to all intents 'petty kingdoms', until powers of most of their local regality and barony courts were reduced or abolished in 1747 following the rebellion of 1745. The changes of landownership that were significant

¹ C. A. Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830* (Manchester 2000). 19-25.

² Whyte, *Scotland's Society & Economy in Transition*, 65-66.

to the inhabitants of Auchtergaven as a result of the 45', was perhaps the forfeiture of the Nairn (of Strathord) Estate,¹ which after the Murthly Estate, would appear to have held the second largest area of land in Auchtergaven. Nairn's holding was mostly situated in the south eastern quarter of the parish. An anecdotal story yet to be verified is that when the forfeited Nairn estate subsequently came up for auction, the local lairds held back from the bidding, on a tacit understanding that the Nairn family would wish to recover their own - a situation which the then Duke of Atholl is reputed to have used to his advantage, by tendering a bid which the Nairns could not meet.² Also forfeit then was the much smaller holding of Mercer of Aldie,³ at Tullybeagles, which until its absorption by Auchtergaven in the nineteenth century was a detached portion of Methven parish, located on the slopes of the Obney Hills, within the north west quarter of Auchtergaven parish. The inhabitants of Tullybeagles had for time immemorial worshipped in Auchtergaven, and are therefore relevant to any studies of that district.

OBNEY DISTRICT.

Also of interest among the Murthly estate papers are listings of tenants for the 1645 to 1648 crops, which differ from other rentals, as they reflect the military situation at the time.⁴ This is evident where allowances are noted for sums contributed by the tenants to Cornet Drummond, and Lt. Col. Murray's Regiment.⁵ Another Murthly Estate item to become significant to this project was a listing for teinds for the years 1654 to 1657,⁶ which name sixteen tenants in the Obney and Moordheidstoun district of Auchtergaven, fourteen of whom also appear in the c.1650 'Names of the

¹ N.A.S. Nairn (of Strathord) Forfeited Estate Papers, E774, and the rentals therein of c.1747.

² D. Cumming, *A Guide to Auchtergaven & Neighbourhood* (Perth, 1894).

³ N.A.S. William Mercer of Aldie Estate Papers, GD1/787.

⁴ N.A.S. Rental (1645-48) in Murthly Castle Muniments, GD121/1/box 42/bundle 224/2.

⁵ For the benefit of students of specific military histories it should be mentioned that Furgol's study of covenanting military units may throw further light onto the activities of some of these and other officers of the period. E. Furgol, *A Regimental History of the Covenanting Armies, 1639-51* (Edinburgh, 1990).

⁶ N.A.S. Teind Duties (1654-57) in Murthly Castle Muniments, GD121/1/box 41/bundle 223/39.

Paroschinaris'. No females are mentioned in this teinds listing but somehow a payment is received for 'umqll Robert Donaldsone'. A further range of rentals are evident for the Murthly Estate's holdings for the eighteenth century, but no other comprehensive lists of inhabitants such as that encountered for c.1650 is evident for Auchtergaven, until the advent of the nineteenth-century census surveys. To complement the 1654-57 Obnies and district teinds listing of tenants, the Murthly Castle Muniments also have a 'List of Inhabitants of The Obnies &c.', dated 1791,¹ which also details which of these inhabitants were the main tenants in the Obnies, Muirheidstoun, and Muirlands, this being a district which seems to have incorporated at least 35 per cent of the geographical area of Auchtergaven parish. Once again the gems which can be hidden among estate papers have come to the fore in providing material with the potential for establishing what the ratio of tenants to subtenants and others might have been for a specific location. Although the date of 1791 for the second of these Obney documents is rather late in the eighteenth century, it was still possible to compare the information gleaned therefrom with that contained in the listing of those who were paying teinds in what appeared to be the same area in 1654-57. (See fig. v).

Murthly Estate's Obney holdings in 1791 appear geographically identical to that in the 1650s teind roll. This roll and the c.1650 'Names of the Paroschinaris' list 16 tenants, one female (6 per cent), among 88 persons, or 10.16 per cent of Auchtergaven's population c.1650 aged over 15 (table 1). To include children, the Obney total should be 10.16 per cent of the 1,284 estimate for the parish = 130 potential Obnies inhabitants c.1650. In the 1791 survey, which seems to include all age groups, we find 30 tenants of which seven (23 per cent) were female heads of household,² among 184 inhabitants. This increase of inhabitants contradicts the eighteenth-century policy of consolidating holdings to rent to fewer occupants. But an addition to the 1791 rental is a property named 'Muirland', and the existing name of 'Muirheidstoun', suggests that the Obnies were on the re-claimed mossy upland slopes of the Grampian Highland line.

¹ N.A.S. A list of the Inhabitants of part of the Parish of Auchtergaven called the Obnies belonging to George Stewart Esqr of Grandtully, 1791, in Murthly Castle Muniments, GD121/1/box 42/bundle 244/1.

² Heavy migration and not male mortality is seen by Devine as the cause of such increases in female occupations. T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London, 2000), 523-24.

PEOPLE OF AUCHTERGAVEN

Therefore the eighteenth-century improvements to these 'Muirlands', which are also noted by the *O.S.A.*, could explain the increase of inhabitants in the Obnies.

Table 3.

INHABITANTS OF OBNIES DISTRICT 1791

Number of inhabitants:	184.	
Members of tenant families:	147.	(80 per cent).
Members of other (subtenantry) families:	37.	(20 per cent).
All in 30 households, seven (23 per cent) with female heads.		

This is a turn-around from c.1650, when a ratio was derived of around one tenant household to two subtenant or cottar households. Therefore two questions arise:

1. Did the improvements to the moss and upland areas result in this increase in the Obnies district's population? If so, this goes against the argument that the agricultural improvements were all about getting rid of people. and/or,
2. Where have all the cottars gone? In the Obney district they appear to have been up-graded to tenant status.

To try and address these queries we look at Auchtergaven's population figures over the period in question. This study indicates that c.1650 there were around 1,284 inhabitants. Webster gives 1,677 by 1755, and the *O.S.A.* shows 1,784 by 1795. The increase between 1755 and 1795 of 107 persons or 6.4 per cent, is below the 24 per cent average for the nation in the period,¹ but this is not untoward for rural areas in the late eighteenth century. To conclude this section the 6.4 per cent population increase for Auchtergaven between 1755 and 1795, does in fact indicate that huge groups of people were not displaced here, as the reversal of the ratio of tenants to subtenant in the Obney district might at first glance suggest. Nevertheless the situation in the Obney district, ascertained from the listing of inhabitants in 1791, makes it evident that there had been substantial changes. These are verified in the next section where the *O.S.A.* of 1795 for Auchtergaven states:

¹ 'Numbers rose by around 0.6% p.a. between Alexander Webster's census in 1755 and the first civil census of 1801' - Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 35.

PEOPLE OF AUCHTERGAVEN

The progress of improvements in agriculture, manufactures, roads, and building here has been so rapid within these ten years past that the country as assumed quite a different aspect from what it had before that time till the year 1784 there was not above three or four farms upon regular plan, and very few neat farm steadings in the parish, At present there are from 20 to 30 regular farms, from 80 to 200 acres each, and upon them neat elegant houses and offices covered with slate. The farmers find it in their interest to adopt in the management of their ground the methods recommended by the proprietors of summer fallowing, and mixing alternately white and green crops.

STANLEY MILL and village.

The question of where some of the subtenants and cottars may have gone is partially answered by the appearance in Auchtergaven parish of a new cotton spinning mill and planned village at Stanley. Relevant to these changes are Devine's observations that Scottish industrialisation prior to 1815 was primarily a rural phenomenon, in so far as the creation of planned settlements was, for example, overwhelmingly concentrated in the period between 1760 and 1815, and that no less than 85 (82 per cent) of those planned villages established in the Lowlands between 1700 and 1840, were founded between 1760 and 1815.¹ In this respect the *O.S.A.* again suggests that the year 1784 seems to have been quite a significant one for Auchtergaven's inhabitants:

In the year 1784, Mr Dempster of Dunnichen and Mr Graham of Fintry, along with several gentlemen in the mercantile line in Perth, feud some ground at Stanley from the Duke of Atholl, built a mill for spinning cotton, and soon after began to erect a village in the neighbourhood, upon a regular plan, for accommodating the people to be employed in this manufactory. At that time only a few families dwelt near Stanley and except the land within the enclosures around Stanley House [late Lord Nairn's home], most part of it, there about was in a state of nature. His Grace the Duke of Atholl took under his own management 250 acres of this land, inclosed it, built upon it an elegant farm stead, and within the course of a few years improved it so highly, that not long ago this farm was let at the rate of £1.5s per acre. Near an hundred families now reside in Stanley village. Above 350 persons are employed about the cotton mill, of this number 300 are women or children under 16 years of age. The boys and girls though confined at work in the mill for many hours of the day, and at times during the night, are in general very healthy.²

¹ Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 40.

² *O.S.A.* xii, 34.

Firstly, this document supports the observation of Whatley, Smout, Hudson and other scholars¹ that Scotland's flourishing linen trade was an employer of 'poor people'.² Secondly, that the land is 'improved so highly', is in keeping with the developments in the Obney district, and the Muir of Thorn there, and complies with Whatley's noting of 'spectacular rent increases'.³ The success and expansion of Scotland's linen trade does therefore appear to have been directly proportional to, and related to, the wages that were being accepted by those 'poor people' displaced by these improvements.

A further question is whether the displacement or move from the subsistence farmtoun to village gave, through sheer necessity, the impetus to a diversity of industries.⁴ Was it coincidental that the Industrial Revolution emerged in North Britain in particular in the late eighteenth century, or had this milestone in the history of mankind developed as the result of a 'silent' and gradual agricultural revolution?

Nearly 100 households were given as residing in Stanley c.1790. Allowing for a mean figure derived from Flinn of 4.5 persons per household,⁵ this implies 450 souls. Our study of the Obnies for the same period indicates that 23 per cent of these 100 households may have had a female head, leaving 77 males heads with 350 women, children and others. The *O.S.A.* notes that 350 were employed at the mill, 300 being women and children; therefore the occupations of 27 male heads of households and 73 women, children and others seem to be unaccounted for. Presumably some had occupations outwith the mill and some were elderly or infants. As there were 20-30 regular farms in Auchtergaven where 'till the year 1784 there were not above 3, or 4', this 100 or so unaccounted for persons were not likely to be unemployed. The second

¹ For a wider examination of the various potential causes and effects of the Industrial Revolution, see also T. C. Smout's *History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1969), and P. Hudson (ed.), *Regions and Industries: A Perspective on the Industrial Revolution in Britain* (Cambridge, 1989).

² Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 24-25.

³ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 21.

⁴ Much of this was part-time labour, but as output rose and demand increased more and more workers became virtually full-time producers, and severed their links with agriculture: Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 330.

⁵ See M. Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 196-97, citing 3.4 and 5.6 for Perth = mean of 4.5.

half of the eighteenth century saw many lowland subtenants, and cottars in particular, change from subsisting on small holdings, to becoming independent day labourers residing in villages, bothies, or with tenant families. Whyte shows that the development of intensive farming required labour on a regular basis, rather than at peak periods, and the economics of granting two or three acres to cottar families was increasingly questioned. Removing cottars, absorbing their holdings, and relying instead on paid farm servants, made economic sense, as long as extra labour could be hired at harvest time, and this was increasingly available from the new estate villages, the older kirk towns, local burghs, and from the new manufacturing centres.¹

Although farms had improved, many remained labour intensive units until the advent of mechanisation in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. Referring again to the 20 per cent of the population of the Obney district, who in 1791 may have been farm servants (Table 3), if this percentage is applied to the 20-30 regular farms of 80-200 acres which *O.S.A.* cites as existing in Auchtergaven c.1790, then this is an inadequate work force. If however we add to this 20 per cent the tenant's own family aged 12 or over, and the 27 males in Stanley of unspecified occupation, then the proportion of the inhabitants of the parish who could have been farm day labourers, becomes more realistic; especially if the labour which Whyte quotes as being increasingly available from the 'older kirk towns [i.e. Bankfoot], local small towns, and manufacturing centres', such as Stanley, Methven, Dunkeld, and the burgh of Perth, is also taken into consideration. Not all displaced subtenants, cottars and others became mill workers or farm day labourers; many in the old social order also had trades. To this day many crofters and fishermen in the north and west of Scotland are renowned as being men of many occupations. The agrarian improvements and the first phase of the Industrial Revolution saw the increase of other employment opportunities, with the growing demand for tradesmen to service the same. Outwith our period, yet still relevant to the question of where did all the subtenants and cottars go, there is a study of Stanley Mill from 1835 to 1851, undertaken by Anthony Cooke and his Dundee

¹ Whyte, *Scotland's Society in Transition*, 46.

University class. Cooke notes that by 1835 the workforce was 850, of whom 436 were under 18, with 22.5 per cent overall from outwith Perthshire in 1841, and that:

By 1841 the village had no fewer than 55 trades people - consisting of various shop-keepers, builders, carpenters, cabinet-makers, shoe-makers, blacksmiths, and a saddler. This period of prosperity continued throughout the 1840s.¹

An objective of this work has been to identify, through the lesser known seventeenth and eighteenth-century sources, the activities of the ordinary folk from whose ranks the vast majority of our forebears descended. But having encountered in this project the beginnings of substantial changes affecting society as a whole in northern Britain, questions about migration arise. Therefore this visit to Auchtergaven would not be complete without considering a hypothesis in Michael Anderson's work² which is relevant to what was happening to all strata of Scottish society in these early stages of the Industrial Revolution. Ravenstein had shown that migration from rural communities to industrial towns was often short distance in nature, and took the form of wave-like motions.³ Anderson wished to know what mechanisms underlay these movements, and founded his study on the 1851 census returns for Preston, where a third of the adults were employed in cotton mills, with many more being indirectly dependent upon them. Preston was a magnet for migrants, wherein 70 per cent of the population had been born elsewhere. To explore migration to this centre Anderson adopted, as his research hypotheses, two potentially conflicting statements:

1. Migration was in waves, i.e., from farm to small town, to large centres, and
2. That towns stimulated population growth in their rural hinterland, the surplus of which they absorbed.

¹ A. Cooke (ed), *Stanley, Its History & Development* (Dundee 1977), 24.

² M. Anderson, 'Urban migration in nineteenth century Lancashire: some insights into two competing hypotheses' *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1971), 13-26.

³ E. G. Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48 (1885), 167-227.

PEOPLE OF AUCHTERGAVEN

The cotton mill village of Stanley can be seen as containing a cross section of the characteristics which represent, in miniature, the busy urban examples upon which Ravenstein and Anderson based their findings. In searching the 1851 census for Stanley to ascertain exactly from where the folk working at the mill were likely to have originated, some vital data was encountered with the entry for Mr Buchanan, the mill owner.¹ This showed that he employed 523 persons (165 males, 358 females), - a massive drop of 39.47 per cent, possibly due to mechanisation, from the 864, or 348 males and 516 females, whom Cooke's team had found working there 10 years earlier.

With regard to ascertaining with some precision the origins of the inhabitants of Stanley in 1841, unfortunately the census for that year only shows whether the person was 'born in county'. Of the 423 households identified in the village in 1851, 123 heads of households were noted as being employed by Stanley Mill, whose places of birth or origin are given as:

Local to Auchtergaven:	32
from other Perthshire locations (mostly adjoining Auchtergaven):	49
from Inverness-shire 10, Forfarshire 2, Sutherland 1:	13
Renfrewshire 7, Lanarkshire 5, Ayrshire 4, Glasgow 4, Stirlingshire 1:	21
Edinburgh 3, Haddington 1, Fife 1, Ireland 2, England 1:	<u>8</u>
	123

This shows that by 1851, 26 per cent of the heads of households employed at Stanley Mill were still local to Auchtergaven, while a total of two thirds were from Perthshire, mostly from adjoining parishes. It is also noted that a figure of 34.8 per cent for migrants from outwith Perthshire, is well up on the 22.5 per cent given (presumably for the whole village) by Cooke for 1841. Cooke mentioned that many spoke Gaelic, but not until the 1881 and 1891 census surveys were Gaelic speakers identified nationally.² These indicate that it was spoken then by the folk from Inverness-shire, Sutherland, and the Perthshire parishes of Dull, Logierait, Blair Atholl, and Kenmore. Indicating that a total of 23 households or 18.7 per cent of those employed by Stanley Mill in 1851 were likely to have the Gaelic, although it is not known whether this was their only language.

¹ 1851 census dist. 330 Auchtergaven: book 8, pp. 1-53, book 9, pp. 1-32, and dist.390 Redgorton, book 6, pp. 1-24, incorporate village of Stanley. G.R.O. Edinburgh.

² N.A.S. *Annual Reports of the Registrar-General for Scotland*.

In view of the large reduction in the mill's workforce since 1841, and the net 'out-migration' over those ten years, it is essential to consider the 'push-pull' factors at work, and what proportion of migrants are 'replacements'. Of the 56 children listed to migrants, only nine were shown as born locally since 1841. It could have been economic factors at Stanley Mill, such as the supply of raw material which may have 'pushed' the population away, and not dissatisfaction, although discontented and radical workers may well have been more geographically mobile, in seeking work elsewhere, especially if they were young and without the responsibility of a family, thereby setting in motion the migratory wave of the next generation. This digression into the nineteenth century could not be concluded without at least a passing reference to Ravenstein's 'Nine Laws of Migration', which gave impetus to Anderson's work, and how these would apply to the situation at Stanley derived from the 1851 census:

1. A majority of migrants go only short distances:
Yes, but not a large majority, 49 from within Perthshire to 42 outwith.
2. Migration proceeds step by step, similar to Anderson's waves:
The eldest child's birth place shows only 15 migrants came by 'steps' whereas 76 appear to have been 'life time migrants'. The decline of employment opportunities at Stanley since 1841 was no doubt responsible. These figures do not however represent the children of migrants who may have left home, or those without children, i.e. 35 persons who may also have arrived by steps, or in waves. An in depth study of the 1841 to 1861 census could well test these theories further.
3. Migrants going long distances generally go to great centres of commerce or industry:
Stanley was not a great centre, but as 42 of its 91 migrants were from outwith Perthshire, it can be proud of the 'pull' factor the village was planned for.
4. Migratory currents have counter currents:
Recent net out-migration is evident, a wider search is needed to test directions.
5. Natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas.
Yes, only 30 town migrants are identified in Stanley out of 91 migrants.
6. Females are more migratory than males within the county of their birth, but males more frequently venture beyond (this also tests Anderson's 1 & 2):

49 migrants from within Perthshire =	18 female	31 male.
42 migrants from beyond Perthshire =	10 "	31 "

That males venture greater distances is substantiated. Female lodging houses are not immediately evident in Stanley from the 1851 census, but as this village did not have the occupational structure of a 'great centre', it may explain why the Perthshire females were less migratory to this location at that time.

7. Most migrants are adults, families rarely migrate:

This appears correct as only 15 families were seen as 'step migrants', plus 8 families where the eldest co-habiting child was also born at the head of the household's place of birth. Therefore only 23 out of 91 migrants were heads of families.

8. Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase (also Anderson 2): Stanley was not a town, and although its population declined from 1,973 in 1841 to 1,769 in 1851, there had been migration from its rural hinterland. A search of the birth registers from say 1855 to 1871, compared with the results of the 1861 and 1871 census returns, could test the ratio of migration to natural increase for that period.

9. Migration increases as industries develop and transport improves:

To verify this particular theory, a survey would need to be carried out over a longer period. From 1841 to 1861 or beyond, involving further nineteenth century research.

More clarifications about this brief foray among the wealth of sources that abound for the nineteenth century can only lead us further away from our seventeenth and eighteenth-century commitments. With regard to testing Anderson's theories that (1) migrants in the first wave motions moved from countryside to small towns, this does appear to have been substantiated in Stanley's case. Likewise his theory (2), that towns 'absorbed' a surplus population, could also be difficult to refute, in light of the 'out-migration' in general from what were essentially rural parts of Perthshire.

Although Anderson's work is based primarily upon the changes from agricultural to industrial employment that were underway in the north of England, and in Lancashire in particular, the findings of his studies are all too clearly reflected in this project, especially where Anderson's work infers that many of the original subtenant and cottar migrants from Auchtergaven's farmsteads would have gone to villages such as Stanley, or to the bleach works at nearby Luncarty and Huntingtower in the adjacent parish of Redgorton. In turn many of the offspring of the initial wave of migrants to have left the 'agricultural croft' could, by the 1840s to 1850s, have moved on from the smaller local cotton mills and bleachfields, by following a trail which they may have heard about from the more adventurous of their friends and relatives, who were trying

to find even better paid work, by migrating to the locations that were rapidly forming in Scotland's industrial belt, especially around Glasgow, and the Clyde valley, with some eventually migrating to lands beyond.¹

Cooke's observation of Stanley's prosperity in the 1840s implies that any discontent occasioned by eighteenth-century agricultural displacements would have been in the past. Devine explains that 'The process of tenant removal was absorbed within the broader and more familiar mechanism of the regular reletting of farms. In a sense, it was clearance by stealth. But the potential social dislocation and alienation associated with the (later) Highland Clearances, was largely avoided'.² Whyte likewise confirms that the policies of agricultural improvement were not a sudden fashion, but gradual.³ One may also speculate that the eighteenth-century landlord may have been more aware of the notion of the rights of the rentaller or 'kindly' tenant⁴ and their subtenants at will, whose forebears may have farmed (and fought) for the landlord's family for a number of generations. Such notions may still have had a degree of resonance in the eighteenth century, whereas this was less likely to have been the case 100 years later. There is no evidence of mass migration nationally, as a result of the eighteenth-century agricultural improvements,⁵ either within Scotland or without, although there were some regional and local developments. The Argyll Estates for

¹ For views on the family and migration, see: M. Anderson, 'What is New about the Modern Family', and D. B. Grigg, 'E. G. Ravenstein and the Laws of Migration, both in M. Drake (ed.) *Time, Family and Community - Perspectives on Family and Community History* (Oxford, 1994). 67-90 & 147-164.

² Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 122.

³ Whyte, *Scotland's Society & Economy in Transition*, 46.

⁴ A number of adverse court of session decisions about 'rentallors', can be found in: Stair's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, (1681), with further examples of English eighteenth-century tenant-landlord relationships detailed in E. P. Thompson's *Customs in Common*, (London 1991).

⁵ Certainly there is no confirmation in this exercise (Migration in Ayr, Angus, Fife and Lanarkshire 1755-1790s) of the contemporary claim that the removal of the cottars initiated a general flight from the land. That the disruption of rural life must have been one element in the migration to the growing towns and cities is undeniable. But there is a good deal of qualitative evidence to support the results of the statistical exercise that cottar clearance was not in itself a major force for depopulation.' Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 150 (& 157).

example did take steps to stem emigration by the tenancy in the second half of that century.¹ Both M. McLean and J. M. Bumstead have detailed how Highland landlords had discouraged emigration, especially during the Napoleonic Wars, but after 1815 they began to change to encouraging it mostly because of population pressures.² By the 1840s these pressures were to culminate in the traumatic perception by some landowners that emigration was the only solution to the demographic problems in the Highlands. It is however appreciated that although these particular points are of immediate relevance, the following chapter is dedicated to a fuller examination of the developments in Argyll, with the questions arising from regional variations in migration discussed in more depth in chapter 5.

Leaving aside for the time being the social questions pertaining to Auchtergaven, one tends to forget that an objective of this project is to demonstrate, to the student of family history in particular, that the ordinary folk not featured in rentals do at times appear in sources such as the foregoing c.1650 and 1791 listings. They are often seen as residing alongside tenants with whom they share the same surname, and to whom it can be assumed they may well be related to some degree. In the foregoing 1791 study of the Obnies, we find at Meikle Obney with the surname Dow; three Andrews, five Thomases, three Peters, three Johns, and two Jameses. Dow is not a profuse surname in Scotland, but for those tracing it to the Obnies district of Auchtergaven, the challenge could be daunting, although the name of a spouse, parent, or occupation, may clarify matters. In a search for seventeenth-century sources pertaining to all social groups this chapter also endeavoured to demonstrate that important questions can be answered, especially by comparing one source with another, and that estate papers in particular can contain gems of information.

¹ 'A surge of emigration had taken place in the 1770s, and one or two parishes contributed large parties to it'. *O.S.A.* vol VIII Argyll, p xxxi.

² M. McLean, *The People of Glengarry, Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820* (Montreal, 1991), 151-52, and: J. M. Bumstead, *The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America* (Winnipeg, 1982), 216-220.

With regard to who Auchtergaven's other landowners were, whose summaries of their estate papers in repertory books or on fiche at the N. A. S. did not seem to contain material of immediate use for this project, we need look no further than the Murthly Estate Rental of 1645-48.¹ This lists four of the other heritors then: Nairn (of Strathour), Andro Burt (Little Tullibelton), Inchbrakie (Mekill Tullibelton), and Lord Stormont (for his lands). Estate papers exist in a variety of locations, although most are perhaps accessed through N.A.S. or N.R.A.S.:

Nairn of Strathour: of special interest at N.A.S. are the Forfeited Estate Papers (Nairn E774) and the rentals therein of 1747c.

Lord Stormont: these are seen by applying to the National Register of Archives for Scotland (N.R.A.S.776), being the Mansfield (Scone Palace) Papers.

Graeme of Inchbrakie Papers: Acc.19590-9 at National Library of Scotland.

For other Auchtergaven landowners c.1770, Timperley² also lists:

George Stewart of Grandtully. (Murthly Castle Muniments, at N.A.S. GD121.),
Robert Robertson of Tullybelton. (Estate Papers with A. K. Bell Library, Perth),
William Mercer of Aldie. (Estate Papers at N.A.S. GD1/787),
The Duke of Atholl. (Estate Papers available at Blair Castle),
and John Stewart of Innernytie (second son of Grandtully) for Airleywright.

With respect to identifying other smaller landowners for whom estate papers as such may not exist, any testament, latter will or settlement for that person is worth investigating, as the debts owed to and by the deceased often note neighbours, tenants and subtenants. For example, at least one or two generations of Campbells of Jura³ list the state of their rentals on that island in their testaments during the eighteenth century. Compared to Perthshire, Argyllshire would seem to be a part of the country for which very few comparable sources for this period survive.

¹ Rental 1645-48 in Murthly Castle Muniments. GD121/1/box 42/bundle 242/2.

² L. R. Timperley, *Directory of Landowners in Scotland* (S.R.S. Edinburgh, 1976), p 262.

³ See Archibald Campbell of Jura in GD64 and SC51/32, at N.A.S.

DISSENT.

The political upheavals of the period may well have overshadowed many of the local and parochial issues pertaining to the changes that were affecting the rural communities. Evidence of the 'Silent' or 'Lowland Clearances' occasioned by the agricultural improvements of the eighteenth century have been identified as a factor, but the building of the cotton mill at Stanley seems to have helped defuse potential discontent, by accommodating many of those who would have been displaced by these changes in farming methods.¹ But this does not deny that the discontented may have been the first to migrate. Devine reflects that there was little evidence of the angry unrest which characterised much of French and Irish rural society, although there were other ways of registering dissent apart from riot, which included sabotage, theft, arson, and pilfering, and also suggests that much of Lowland rural unrest was channelled into religious dissent.²

Since the 1730s Perthshire, whose population was then larger than Lanarkshire's, had indeed been a centre for the formation of a number of seceder sects, which ranged from the Associate congregation, to the Relief, and Glassite congregations. Whyte mentions how factors such as the allocating of rented pews to tenants inevitably alienated many of the ordinary folk from worshipping in their own parish church.³ For a local Perthshire view; Forrester, in his history of Logiealmond (which adjoins Auchtergaven to the west), mentions that Perth was a religious storm-centre, especially at the time of Ebenezer Erskine, who as Moderator of the Synod of Perth and Stirling, with the other three of 'the Four Brethren' - William Wilson of Perth, Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy, and James Fisher of Kinclaven (which parish adjoins Auchtergaven to the east) - in 1733 'made a secession' from the established Church of Scotland, over the question of Patronage.⁴

¹ See Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 8-9.

² Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 158.

³ Whyte, *Scotland's Society & Economy in Transition*, 61.

⁴ D. M. Forrester, *Logiealmond* (Edinburgh, 1944), 173.

Although Perthshire and Scotland may not have been rocked by the angry unrest that was evident in France and Ireland in the late eighteenth century, one tantalising question does still remain: Was the potential discontent occasioned by these agrarian displacements eventually diffused by the advent of the Industrial Revolution, or did those who were displaced by these 'gradual' changes in agricultural policy not only produce urbanisation, but also provide the cheap labour that was necessary for the first stage of Britain's Industrial Revolution? The implications involved in endeavouring to answer questions of this magnitude would no doubt form the basis for a separate investigation, and study in its own right.

CONCLUSIONS.

The aims of this work had been to demonstrate that although for the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries there is not the range of research material that abounds for presenting the quality of studies that exist for the post 1800s, in summarising this chapter the search for and the examination of source material pertaining to the subtenants, cottars, and other elusive ordinary folk, who were residing in the specific location of Auchtergaven parish in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, can on the whole be considered as fairly successful, especially for the seventeenth century. By comparing the information gleaned from a c.1650 local population listing, which may be no more than an incomplete examination roll, with late eighteenth century material, which exists albeit for only a part of the same parish, we were nevertheless able to witness changes over the period. Where around three quarters of the inhabitants of a predominantly agricultural society had subsisted on properties tenanted by the other quarter, by 1791 the situation in the Obnies and Moorland districts of Auchtergaven parish had more than reversed. Now just 20 per cent were of the subtenantry, and substantial numbers including the new small tenantry, were being absorbed by industry.

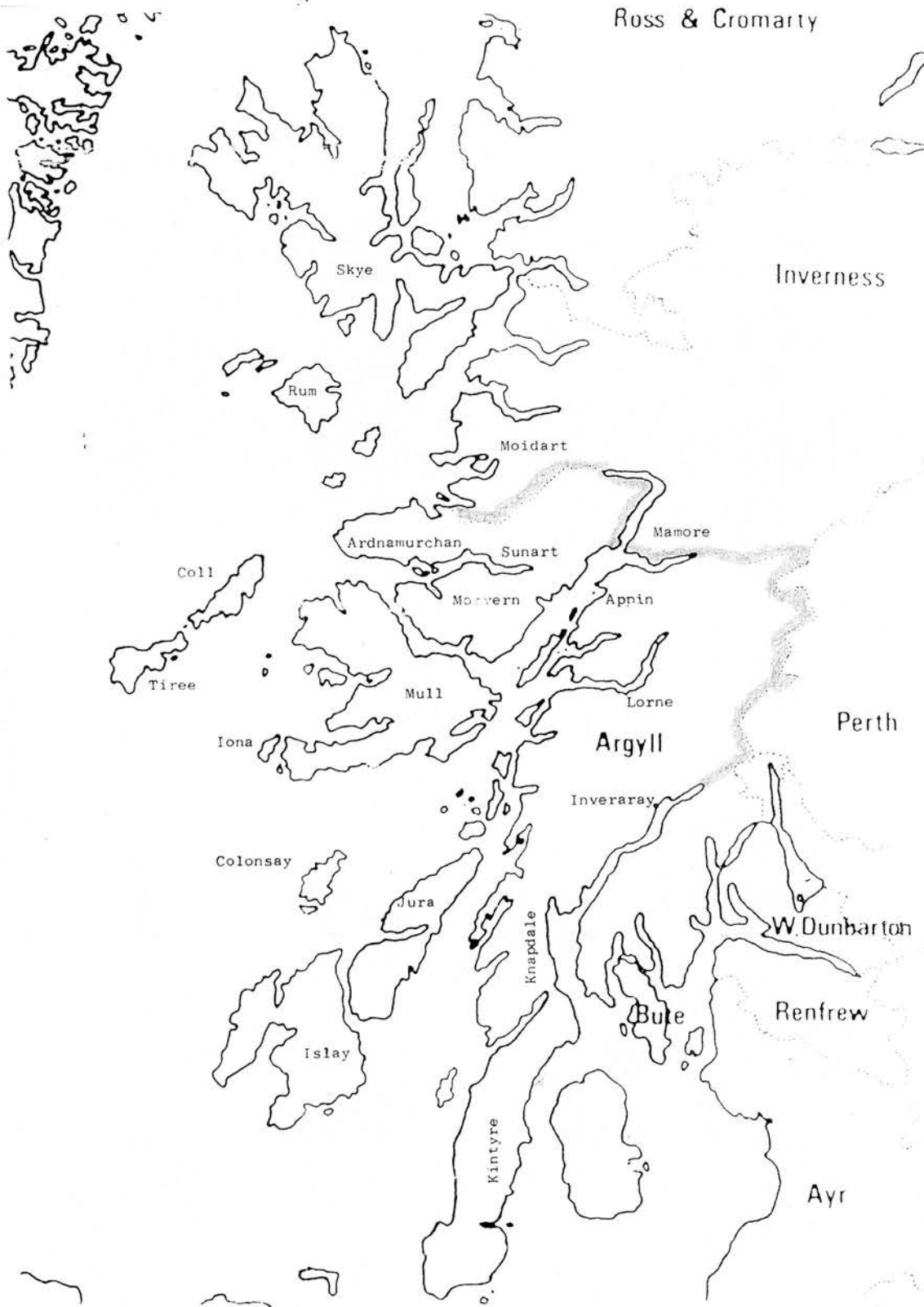
The results produced by any study of early modern sources are invariably speculative. But the Auchtergaven project has endeavoured to demonstrate how some of these lesser known sources can be examined for making original demographic studies of certain contrasting locations. In this context the next two chapters are aimed at exemplifying some of these contrasts.

3. ARGYLL ESTATES AND TIREE.


Scotland's north and west coast counties are notorious for being bereft of documentary sources from which all social groups can be identified, including the crofters and subtenantry where those terms might be relevant in certain locations there. An inspection of the *Detailed List of the Old Parish Registers* for Sutherland, Ross & Cromarty, Inverness-shire and Argyll, shows that for 30 per cent of the 40 parishes that are deemed as coastal or islands, there are simply no surviving pre 1855 Established Church O.P.Rs., and for a massive 67 per cent (2 out of 3), there are no O.P.Rs. whatsoever extant prior to 1792. Of the remaining 13 parishes, only one, Campbeltown, has registers which date earlier than 1753.¹ These Campbeltown O.P.Rs note baptisms and marriages for a 'Lowland Congregation' from 1682, and for a 'Highland Congregation' there from 1728, but only 20 entries in a deaths and burials register for the whole parish for the years from 1773 to 1808. For a substantial part of northern and western Scotland however there are none of the O.P.Rs that exist for the rest of the country for most of the eighteenth century. Where they are extant the O.P.Rs are an asset in that they are indexed for births, baptisms, and marriages, and a national programme of death and burial indexing is currently underway. Therefore for those northern and western coastal parishes that lack O.P.Rs, the identification of any hitherto unseen or lesser known seventeenth- and eighteenth-century material, which might be a comprehensive local population listings, could be unique. Especially if the source included all social groups it would be extremely significant, as possessing a variety of potential uses, for both social studies and family history research.

This lack of written church records at the local parish level for most of the northern and western Highlands, until the late eighteenth century, may in part be explained where highland and lowland societies appear to have diverged sharply in the Middle Ages, with this rift being at its widest in the reign of James VI. Highlanders were seen as conspicuously different in every respect; from their dress, which lowlanders considered indecent, to their religion, which they concluded contained neither the true faith nor a Christian life as measured by the Kirk, but widespread

¹ Registrar General, *Detailed List of the Old Parish Registers of Scotland*.



ARGYLL STUDY AREA

Approximate boundary of Argyll Estates outlined thus: 

surviving Roman Catholic and even pagan customs and superstitions.¹ Papal supremacy was abolished by a Scottish parliament in 1560, but only one or two lowland parish and burgh registers predate that event, the earliest being for Errol in Perthshire from 1553, with nothing at all similar known for the Highlands. One could speculate that examination rolls or the odd register for some Highland district, just might eventually surface from the vast Vatican archives, but it is anticipated that there will still be little, if any, similar sixteenth-century material for regional comparative studies. Perhaps another reason for the lack of church records is where Hopkins notes that even by the late seventeenth century; 'In many areas (of the Highlands), all religion had only a superficial hold: the mission of the Isles, where Clanranald's and Macneil of Barra's people had, officially, been reclaimed, reported that the people were neither Protestant or Catholic, although more were inclined to Catholicism'.² Not until 1760 did the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), set out to promote Presbyterianism, especially among the annexed Highland estates.

In the quest to locate sources which include information about the highland and island subtenantry and others, one compensation for the lack of church records in that region had been the information found hitherto in estate papers. This past tense is used because what is perhaps the only comprehensive collection of one of the largest estates, namely the Argyll papers kept at Inveraray, were sadly no longer accessible at the time of this project. Nevertheless, the data which scholars compiled earlier from Inveraray and elsewhere, especially perhaps that used by Dodgshon, still provides an invaluable guide and comparisons for the objectives of this project, and proves that the quest for new interpretations and conclusions is on-going, even when the range of material available may not be all that one would desire. Also, a challenge that cannot be ignored is to try and ascertain whether this Argyll material might be typical of the rest of the highlands as a whole, for which comparable sources simply do not exist.

Using data primarily from rentals for an area of the northern and western

¹ P. Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War* (Edinburgh, 1986, 2nd edition 1998), p 11.

² Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p 25.

Highlands reaching from Breadalbane to the Isles, and by weighting averages according to the number of farm townships, Dodgshon had estimated that the average number of tenants per township was 3.9 for the seventeenth, 4.6 for the early eighteenth and 4.77 for the late eighteenth century.¹ But for our quest of identifying the ‘total’ inhabitants of a ‘specific’ location dating earlier than that of 1768 for Tiree, which the N.A.S. already has,² he seems to cite just two seventeenth-century sources from the Argyll papers that warranted closer examination. The first was a listing of ‘The Haill Landis of the Lordship of Kintyr wt ye Tennentis and Inhabitants names wt ye haill number of cattle ky and horses, c.1636’. It is however indicated that this source may not be as comprehensive as one would like for identifying the respective social groups:

‘Though labelled as a list of ‘tenants and inhabitants’, its primary object was to list the stock carried by the townships. Given that all the individuals mentioned had stock of some sort, the list can be taken as a statement of those who were involved in farming the land to a lesser or greater degree. As a document, it offers quite a different perspective from that of a rental. Out of 33 townships in North Kintyre, only two appear to have actually been farmed by individuals. The rest were in the hands of multiple “occupiers”, with an average of 5.15 “occupiers” per township. In the case of South Kintyre, only six out of its 83 townships were farmed by single tenants. The rest were shared by an average of 4.45 “occupiers”. In terms of status, though, these “occupiers” involved not only tacksmen or main tenants, but those to whom they sub-let shares, plus crofters and cottars or cottagers, who were allowed to graze a few cows, sheep, or goats, that is, all those who grazed stock on the township's pastures’.³

Therefore an unknown number of Kintyre sub-tenants, cottars and others, who did not have stock to graze, together with those whose occupations were not involved in the process of stock husbandry, are unlikely to be represented in this c.1636 listing. The number without stock in a rural area may be anticipated as being small, to the point where the percentage would not significantly jeopardize a study to ascertain the ratio of tenants to subtenants and others; but a study could be further complicated by trying to ascertain which of seven parishes was north and south Kintyre, and whether there

¹ R. A. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords* (Edinburgh 1998), 130.

² Tiree 1768, Survey by James Turnbull (N.A.S., RHP 8826/1-2).

³ IC/AP, bundle 746. *The Haill Landis of the Lordship of Kintyr wt ye Tennentis and Inhabitants names wt ye haill number of cattle ky and horses, c.1636*. summarised in Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords* 131 & 154: notes 9 & 29.

would be a comparable area for the eighteenth century.

The second of the seventeenth-century documents located by Dodgshon that warranted further examination is an earlier listing of 1609, which was found to encompass an even wider and less defined area of parts of mid and north Argyll, covering 120 townships, which with the c.1636 listing, is also concerned with detailing the animal farm stock of tenants, subtenants and other occupiers. It is then stated that together these compilations show that each occupier had an average of 11.2 cattle, 4.8 sheep, 1.5 horses and 1.6 goats.¹ Even allowing for where the dominant tenant in each township is shown as having an average of 21.4 animals, the aforementioned averages for each occupier, including subtenants and others, of at least a dozen animals, and a horse, demonstrates that such substantial stock holdings are hardly likely to have been inclusive of all the folk who were below the rank of tenant.

Turning to the available court records, by the very nature of their specifically separated jurisdictions, the contents of the Registers of Hornings and Inhibitions, and the hornings in particular, would seem to have been designed especially with the purpose of hearing claims against the moveable property of those of the rank of tenant and below. Inhibitions inhibit the disposal of a debtor's heritable property, whereas hornings, which are directed against those who may only have moveable property, are more likely to include persons from all social groups. Consequently the registers of hornings are an invaluable source for those parts of Scotland where little, if any, seventeenth-century documentation survives, which may have named the inhabitants of a location. For such areas even listings of those who may turn out to be the main occupiers, or possessors only, are still very much welcomed. An example very relevant in this respect is a horning dated March 1675, by the earl of Argyll mostly against the Macleans and or their adherents residing in the Morvern and Mull district, which names and locates 522 persons, who would appear to be the heads of households.

EARL OF ARGYLL'S HORNING OF 1675.

The background for this action is conveniently outlined by Hopkins, when he

¹ Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, p 173.

explains that the accumulation of debts from the upheavals of the 1640s and 50s had destabilised society, especially in the south west highlands, where the Campbells pursued an aggressive policy of expansion. The marquess of Argyll had joined the Covenanting Revolution, the success of which cause enabled him to subjugate many of the smaller clans that threatened him, and extract from their imprisoned royalist chiefs, which included the Macleans, the acknowledgement of debts, together with grants of land in Morvern, Mull and Tiree.¹

Argyll's claim was based upon his purchase of tax arrears, which Sir Lachlan Maclean (who had followed the royalist Montrose) owed to the Covenanting regime, and the Maclean estates were subsequently adjudged to Argyll in 1659. Although Argyll was fined for supporting the Covenanting cause following the Restoration of 1660, Charles II had conspicuously failed to reverse the situation, even after Sir Alan Maclean sought redress in London in 1667. On returning Sir Alan continued negotiations with Argyll, while creating a united front among the Macleans for the day when Argyll would enforce his claim by invasion. In 1674 Sir Alan died and early in September the earl of Argyll received a commission of fire and sword, and invaded on the 16th. On the 18th September a pacification was negotiated wherein Argyll's rights were to be acknowledged, outstanding rents were to be paid, and Maclean of Brolas was to be granted a wadset over his own lands.²

On 21st September 1674, Lauchlane M'Laine of Broloiss declared that he had uplifted the rents out of the estate of Dowart, on behalf of 'Archibald Earl of Argyll, as having good and undoubted right to the said estate, and rents', in accordance with an agreement made between 'the said Noble Earl on the one part, and me the said Lauchlan M'Lain, for myself, and in name of the rest of the name of M'Laine and others who appeared lately with me in arms, on the other part', dated at Moy on 18th September 1674.³ This agreement very soon fell through, and on 24th-30th March 1675, the aforementioned letters of horning for removal were issued by Argyll, mostly

¹ P. Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p 21.

² Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, 22, 44-5, 56-8.

³ J. R. McPhaill (ed), *Highland Papers*, 4 Vols (S.H.S. 1914-34) I, 293-5.

against the Macleans, and their adherents in the Morvern and Mull districts.¹ Hopkins describes this action as being raised against Maclean of Torloisk and several hundred *lesser* tenants, presumably as a means of applying pressure. In addition to endeavouring to verify whether the earl of Argyll's claimed possessions on Morvern, Mull and Tiree would have supported 522 lesser tenants in the 1670s, a prime objective is to ascertain whether this listing included all of the subtenants and others, or simply mentioned some of them. Either way their presence could make this a unique document, for a period and location for which very little information on local population listings is available. The content of the original horning of 24-30th March 1675 was further complemented, when it was found that the same case also appears as a 'caption', dated 10th April 1675, in the Scottish History Society series of publications for 1914.² By comparing this published caption with the original horning, a convenient second opinion is obtained for the odd palaeographic queries that are encountered in the course of transcribing the original document of 24-30th March. Also relevant to the overall quest of identifying changes affecting the population within a given time and location, is ascertaining whether the 10th April 1675 caption, or the original horning which preceded it, had already been compared with two collections of eighteenth-century data published by the S.R.S. The first is Maclean-Bristol's study of a seemingly identical geographical part of Argyllshire based on a survey of 1716, and the second is Cregeen's study of the survey of the Argyll Estates of 1779. No mention of the Earl of Argyll's March 1675 horning, or the subsequent caption of the same case, was immediately evident in these S.R.S. publications for Argyll Estate in 1716 and 1779.

The outcome of the exercise of comparing the contents of the original March 1675 horning with the published caption of April 1675 is instructive. Of the 522 persons listed in the original 219 (42 per cent) were 'of', 'tacksmen of' or 'in' a location, the rest being 'there' (Table 4). But 67 (12.8 per cent) are missing from the caption. This is not unusual as it is evident in numerous court processes that names are often deleted from initial actions, indicating that the pursuer had reached a settlement, come to an

¹ N.A.S. Particular Register of Hornings & Inhibitions for Argyllshire DI.23/1. ff 68v-75v.

² J. R. McPhaill (ed), *Highland Papers* (S.H.S.) I, 296-303.

understanding, or adjusted his claim against some of the defenders.

A further analysis of the 67 names missing from the caption shows that 39 (58 per cent) were the more important disputed owners and possessors, of tenant rank and above, which may explain why Hopkins considered that the remaining action was against the *lesser* tenants of Mull, Morvern and Tiree. The removal of the names of these disputed owners or main possessors from the initial action seems however to have created potential errors regarding locations, which were possibly made when the caption was being copied from the original horning. For example: page 11 of the Argyll horning data shows No. 366 Hector McLean of Achnacross residing at Achnacross, and three names following his are also shown as 'there'. Hector McLean of Achnacross is missing from the subsequent caption, but the three names following his in the original horning remain. But as Achnacross is now missing from the caption, the three still designated as 'there' now appear to be residing at Torgormag (see fig v). Further research shows that at least nine persons in the caption seem to be wrongly located in this manner from the original horning.

It is not specified in the earl of Argyll's original horning of March 1675, or in the April 1675 caption, as to whether those summoned are the main possessors, tenants or otherwise, although the 'order to flit' does contain the usual clause:

.... Therefore the Lords of Council & Session ordain the forenamed persons, tutors, tenants and present occupiers of the foresaid lands, to flit & remove themselves with their wives, bairns, servants, familie, sub-tenants, cottars, goods & gear from the lands above written.

The standard 'order to flit' clause suggests that Argyll's action is against his perceived vassals and main tenants only. That this action and caption of March 1675 may only be against persons of the rank of tenant and above, is borne out where the March 1675 horning, and not the published April 1675 caption, names 190 properties claimed by Argyll on the lands in question, in which he was infeft (formally granted) on 17th November 1654:

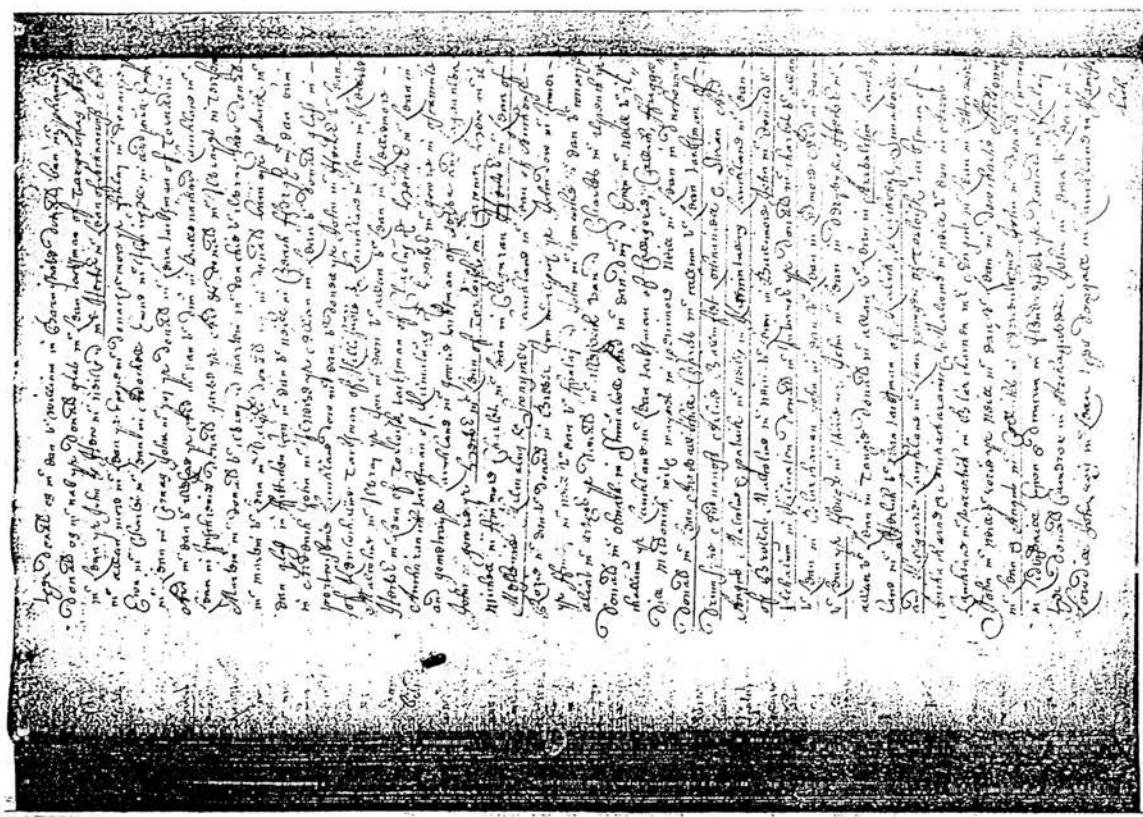
HIGHLAND PAPERS

300

McLaine of Torloisk, Finlay M'Kinlay vic Ean in Dathowage, Malcom M'Laine there, John M'Lean there, Malcom M'Finlay vic Ean, Neel M'Ilvray in Dissag, Ewer M'Donald vic Ean there, John Dow M'Ilvray in Knock, John M'Finlay there, Ewin M'Ilvray there, Lauchlan M'Ilvray there, John M'Ean Ban there, Donald Berr M'Alister in Blachraig, John M'Andrie there, John M'Gillchrist there, Lauchlan M'Lean far of Torloisk, Patrick M'Neill dow in Glenrannar, Neil M'Ilvray there, Lauchlan M'Lean in Gortebouie, Neill Garvie M'Neil vic Ean duoy there, Malcom M'Ean dow vic M'Neel there, Angus Glass M'Neel there, Duncan Lamont in Collichele, M'Intayleor there, Duncan Lamont in Collichele, Ewin M'Inish there, Malcom M'Indonich there, Neel M'Illehallum vic Ildonich there, Duncan M'Finlay there, Donald M'Donald vic Ean there, Hew M'Neel in Ochnieruig, Duncan Roy M'Lain vic Neel there, Ewin M'Lain vic Neel there, Lauchlan M'Lean there, Neil M'Dowling there, Neil M'Ean vic Alister there, Allan M'Lean there, Malcom M'Faden in Auchladabeg, John M'Donald vic Ean there, Donald M'Ulrich there, Donald M'Phaden there, Neel M'Donald in Glenan, Donald Malcom and Finlay M'Donald there, Donald Moir M'Lean there, Hew M'Charles vic Lean there, Gilcallum M'Neil vic Donald there, Angus M'Phaden in Sheltoun, John M'Donochie in Ardnochthead, Donald M'Lean vic Finlay there, Ewin M'Donochie eioch there, Donald M'Ean vic Donochie in Tarnaskioch, Allan M'Ean alrech there, Dushan M'Ean Leach there, Hector M'Neill vic Ean there, John M'William in Ardochoyle in Dowart, John M'Intyre there, Neil M'Neel there, Ewin Bean M'Ilmichell alias M'Illeish there, Donald oig M'Ean vic William in Barnisreive, Donald bean M'Phain there, Donald oig M'Nab there, Donald Glas M'Lean tacksman of Torginaig, Archibald M'Lean there, John Hew M'Neels there, Archibald M'Allan moir M'Lean there, Ewin M'Donochie moir there, Finlay M'Donochie there, Ewin M'Charles M'Lean in Ardchohall, Ewin M'Ilmichell in Ardjura, Ewin M'Lean in Carnag, John M'Roy there, Donald M'Lean tacksman of Tornoddu, Archibald M'Ean

(X) HECTOR M'LEANS OF AUCHNACROSS - MISSING

Part of the Caption of the earl of Argyll's homing of 1675, showing Hector McLean of Auchnacross missing, hence those after his name in the homing are now indicated as being at Torginaig Source: J. R. MacPhail (ed), *Highland Papers*, 4 Vols (S.H.S. 1914-11).



Fol. 70v. of the earl of Argyll's homing of 1675. The names underlined are missing from the Caption (N.A.S. ref: DL23/1. Reduced 45%)

(Summary of lands in which Argyll was infeft on 17th November 1654:)

.... The barony of Dowart, containing the lands of Teressie, containing the lands of Dowart and the castle thereof and milne, Barbryan, the castle & lands of Barnabrian, Nagayne, Auchnacroniye, Glenais, Auchitibeg, [N]ra-turnaskeathes, Torgormaig, Auchanna[r]joush, Arscheyll, Calfhous, Arnadraich, within the Isle of Mull. Glenramoir and Gortembany, Gametra, Tressenoyss, comprehending: Kilmanag, Skeaneir, Hawme, Gasten, Grayert, and Mowneish comprehending: Colgar, Innerney, Kelloch, Shinneboyle, Gilchreist, Penimore, Ardebrines, Airine, Lay, Fraradill, lykewyse in Mull. Ulva, Laggan, Balsaggarie Carnebulg with castle & isle thereto. Lands in the Isle of Terie, viz: Maneill or Mandalen Crosseboyll, Killein, with the office of Baillie of Tyrie. Lands in Morverne, to witt: Wlladie, Auchacha, Auchuremore, Strane, Kenlaucht, Auchtregan, Dawgard, Straglasch and Glaschbreck, Auchdaneill, and Anachity called Reigland, all within the sherifffdom of Argyll, and all unit annexit incorporate & treat in hail and frie baronie called the baronie of Dowart.

And the tenendrie of Arrios in Mull comprehending; 5 merk land of New Balgardi, in the Isle of Ila, in the lands of old pertaining to the Abbacie of Derrie. All 2d land of Claighall. All 1d land of [Ewchi]schall, 1d land of Ballenachyne, 1d land of Kilmore, 2d land of Aird, 2d land of Buradbuy, 1d land of Kyleslat, 1d land of Erskine, 2d land of Isle of St. Kenneths, called Inshkenneth, half penny land of Glen Agadill, with the forest lands & isle included, which in tymes past was sett with the said lands with division lyand neer the Isle of Mull. All 1 merkland L[inr]vendis in Isle of Terie. All Isle of Guina, Dorberg of Kils, Ardinshawes, Ardneishmeth, and Freizland in the Isle of Coill. All the fourscore 6 merks 10s lands of Terie, comprehending Conbeg, Bellinxettas, Kemay, Carriebeg, Carnmuir, Breisten Ballimulling, Hausk, Mortosk, Vaill, Barregoy, Bernerie, Tayne, Cabilseich, Suderpeih, Hayns, Killein, Bee & pertinents all in Isle of Terie. All the 50 merk 10s land of Morverne comprehending; Ardneish, Steyabeld, Munagastill, Glenorie, Basteill, Calselloch, Bamleny, Kenlochluga, Ininmore, Arinabri, Barr, Tanquulich, Beleb, Tangrier, Hamclitill, Killintach, Glenrabistill, Drumcraigag, Sterneis, Carnocalloch, Hilemdry, Laggan, Salachin, Skinmoir, Salvarie, Daregrantan, Auchitarran, Newline, Shinarie, all lyand within the Lordship of the Isles & sherifdom of Argyle, all incorporate in the tenendrie called the tenendrie of Arros. All the Kirklands called 20 pound land of Rossie in Isle of Mull, to witt; 4d land of Sheba, 1d halfpenny land of Scurr, 4d land of Kilmakewan, 2d land of Seiphen, farthen land of Edderralloch, 1d land of Tasken, halfpenny land of Arnbage, 1d land of Tarrakline, 1d land of Arenhall, farden land of Kennelly, 1d land of Knockastrie, 1d land of Knockerrilaroch, 1d land of Trapsan, 2d land of Ardnalemish, 1d land of Bernis, 1d land of Terigagan, 1d land of Terikill, farden land of Belledmoir, 1d land of Salquira, 1d halfpenny land of Pettie, 1d land of Teichladen, farden land of Crenechin fewar, farden land of Crenoch Superior, 2d land of Ardanaig, 2 halfpenny land of Taragyll called Calleyaline, 3d halfpenny land of Baneshane, 2d land of Cumingharid, 2d land of Ley, 1d land of Osabill, 5d land of Ardmush lyand in Rosole lyand in the Isle of Mull.

Lykewyse all 1d land of Kirkie-fubill, 1d land of Kellen, 1d land of Kalarimore, 1d land of Kilvaragune, 1d land of Kilwyngyne, 1d land of Kingarura, 3 farthen land of Kilmorie, 2d land of Keith, 1d land of Thorne, 1d land of Tarsaig, 1d land of Skriden & Surd, 1d land of Glasvr[ach] all lyand in the Isle of Mull. All the Isle of Iona alias Icomkill pertaining of old to the monastrie there. [Also] in the Isle of Terie; 6 merkland of Ballesmisbe, 6 merkland of Kirkappill, 1 merk land of Waill, 6 merkland of Kyles, the lands of Kilcameth, Kinanag, Kysle, Baw, Gade, Ballenmartein, all in the Isle of Terie. - The lands of Sayne in Mull, - Portin-boat in Morvern, - 24 merk 5s land of Arros in Mull, - the lands of Oscalnull, the lands of Brollos. - All 8 merkland of Ardrenach, Arramur, Stanimore superior in [Terra Teneill] all in the Isle of Mull. - all the lands of Malbanie in Isle of Scarba, - All Craiganagull, Glenarimuch and Glenlandish & Ardvergnish in Jura.

Which lands pertained before to Sir Lachlan McLean of Dowart, and were lawfully adjudged and decerned to belong to the deceased Archibald late Marquis of Argyll by decreet of the late Commissioners for administrating justice in Scotland on 26 February 1659, and Archibald now Earle of Argyll hath good and undoubted right to the same conforme to his charter of infeftment mentioned in ye said decreet of removing ...

The foregoing shows that each potential tenancy is not individually demarcated, and there are generalisations which inhibit the listing from being used as a guide to tenancies, for example: was there only one tenancy in the lands of Sayne, or in Brolas the seat of one of Argyll's main adversaries, and just one on Iona alias Icolmkill? In the 1675 horning 26 persons are listed on that island, indeed only one 'in' and 25 'there'. However, by dividing the 522 Macleans and adherents named in the horning among the 190 properties, including the generalisations mentioned, there is a ratio of 2.75 persons to every property. Therefore allowing for an unknown number of generalised tenancies, it would appear that there could have been around 2.5 heads of families, residing at the properties listed. But the small figure of 2.5 potential heads per property seems hardly likely to include all of the shared tenancies, subtenants, cottars and other non-McLean adherents who may also have been residing at those locations.

That parts of Mull, Morvern, and some of the Inner Isles could at the time of the March 1675 horning had a ratio of 2.5 or 2.75 main possessors per property, is not too far removed from Dodgshon's figure of 2 tenants per township for Morvern in 1671. But it clearly differs from the 4.13 listed for Mull in 1678.¹ Considering that

¹ Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 128.

Dodgshon's data had been derived from more detailed sources such as rentals, which had also shown that elsewhere on the Argyll estate, even sixty years on c.1636, there was (excluding those without animals) an average of 5.15 'occupiers' per township in North Kintyre, and 4.45 in South Kintyre, our cursory estimate of 2.5 or 2.75 per property for Mull, Morvern and the Isles in 1675, seems therefore to be only a part of a picture, indicating that the 522 Macleans and adherents mentioned in the horning may indeed have been only some of the possessors and pretended heritors. Likewise Hopkins' reference to the 'lesser' tenantry being the subject of the action of 1675, may only have applied to those whose names remained in the caption, after the names of many of the gentry or 'fine'¹ designated as 'of' or 'in' a location had evidently been deleted from the original, suggesting that the action was in fact against 'some' of the possessors and their subtenants, rather than just the 'lesser' tenantry.

With the 522 persons listed in the earl of Argyll's horning of 1675 emerging therefore as only some of the inhabitants of Mull, Morvern and the Inner Isles, few conclusions can be drawn from that number for the West Coast or the rest of the poorly documented highlands as a whole. However most sources possess other values, and a closer study of the horning indicates that there could still be one or two comprehensive listings of the main tenants available for some of the smaller locations mentioned in that action. That for instance as many as 25 potential heads of families under one tenant are noted for Iona, could at the time have been a fair indication of the number of inhabitants on that island. But this small extension of Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon parish, off the Ross of Mull, is hardly likely to have sufficient population from which statistics could be compiled as being representative of Argyll, let alone the highlands as whole. Mairi MacArthur found that on the West End of Iona alone there were 23 joint tenants in 1742, and that there are no accurate records of Iona's population until the duke of Argyll's survey of 1779.² This shows that out of a population of 249 there were 33 tenants including the schoolmaster, 12 cottars and at least 15 or more other employees

¹ Macinnes uses the Gaelic word *fine* to refer to the clan elite = chief + leading gentry. Macinnes, *Clanship Commerce and the House of Stuart*, xiv.

² E. M. MacArthur, *Iona: The living memory of a crofting community* (Edinburgh, 1990), 16-21.

and maids whose totals are not specified.¹

TIREE, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Iona was unsuitable as an area at least the size of a parish or barony is preferable for facilitating our comparisons with two contrasting mainland locations. In this respect of greater interest is the listing of 56 possessors or main tenants, who are noted in the earl of Argyll's horning, as occupying 28 locations identified as being in the island and parish of Tiree. Physically Tiree may not be typical of the highlands as a whole, but its size and location suggest that much of the data available for it could indeed be typical for much of that vast sparsely populated region, for which virtually no documentation exists.

Argyll's horning of 1675 indicates an average of two possessors per farmtoun, which immediately prompts the need for a comparison with a rental that had been available to Dodgshon which shows for Tiree:²

year	townships	single tenancy	shared tenancy	average of shared
1662	32	12	20	6.7

Accepting once again that Dodgshon's figures for 1662 had been derived from more reliable sources, the number of persons of tenant status then can be estimated as:

$$20 \text{ shared} \times 6.7 = 134 + 12 \text{ single} = 146 \text{ tenants in 32 Tiree townships.}$$

The 1675 horning against just 56 possessors at 28 locations on Tiree would therefore seem to have been directed only against those Maclean adherents identified as not complying with the earl of Argyll's claims. That we are able to compare the figures for Tiree in the horning with those a rental, should not be seen as diminishing the horning, but as having provided a useful clarification as to its purpose.

For the objective of locating local west coast population listings inclusive of all social groups, other than those who only appear in rentals, a further survey compiled by Maclean-Bristol also includes Tiree, and all of its male inhabitants aged over sixteen years, and indicates that 433 males were residing at 33 locations in that parish in 1716.³

¹ E. R. Cregeen (ed) *Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate 1779* (S.R.S. 1963), 98-101.

² Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 128-129.

³ N. Maclean-Bristol (ed), *Inhabitants of the Inner Isles, - Morvern and Ardnamurchan 1716* (S.R.S. 1998).

This survey of April 1716 seems to have been compiled for the same geographical area, and perhaps for many of the same reasons as those evident in the earl of Argyll's horning of 1675. The 1716 survey claims to name and locate the whole of the male population in that area aged over 16 years. As listings of Tiree's inhabitants exist at the N.A.S. for 1768, in the S.R.S. for the Argyll Estates in 1779, and in *O.S.A* for the 1790s, then the possibility emerges of projecting or extrapolating back from an array of eighteenth-century information, to that now gleaned from the horning of 1675, and possibly on to complement some of the early seventeenth-century rental data seen by Dodgshon. But first a word about the estate as a whole in the eighteenth century.

ARGYLL ESTATES, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

In April 1716, at the end of the 1715 Rebellion, James Campbell of Stonefield, Sheriff Depute of Argyll, and his Deputy-Lieutenants, concluded supervising the disarming of the Macleans and others on the islands of Canna, Coll, Tiree and Mull, in the mainland districts of Morvern, where some of Lochiel's men resided, and in Ardnamurchan and Sunart, the home of some of Stewart of Appin's men. Stonefield's clerk kept a list of what is probably every male aged over 16 in these areas, with their place of abode. Their respective loyalties are also shown, where known;

r = rebel, n = not in rebellion, m = in militia. This list in the Argyll Sheriff Court Records (SC54/22/54), is kept at the N.A.S., and published by the Scottish Record Society, as the *Inhabitants of the Inner Isles Morvern and Ardnamurchan 1716*.¹

In a detailed study of the latter, of the 2,165 persons listed, only the occupations or designations of 200 of them are given, of which;

36 are designed 'of' a location,	9 baillies and other officers.
3 ministers,	5 tacksmen or subtacksmen,
9 tenants,	4 subtenants or cottars.
9 bowmen,	6 poets and musicians
60 servants,	24 workmen,
20 herds,	2 each; millers, weavers, tailors,
1 each; merchant, changekeeper, smith, boatwright, maltster, gardener, porter, cooper, and tinker.	

¹ Maclean-Bristol (ed), *Inhabitants of the Inner Isles*.

As a number of the foregoing are given as being the servants of persons for whom no designation or occupation is stated, all of the remaining 1,965 persons cannot therefore be readily assigned to a specific social stratum or occupational category. It is however evident from the variety of occupations that are listed, that this survey is highly likely to include the vast majority of the sub-tenants, cottars, and others who were residing in this area in 1716. Maclean-Bristol the editor to the publication, does draw our attention to one anomaly:

.... It is however curious that Donald Maclean of Brolas is listed as living alone in Inchkenneth. Surely he must have had some servants?¹

To facilitate the study of Stonefield's survey of April 1716, the names (and Gaelic patronymics) of the 2,165 persons listed, were transferred with their locations, to a data-base producing 60 pages. Then in order to try and ascertain who the tenants were, and who may have been the subtenants, cottars and others, the results were annotated by using the same method by deduction, as that which had been used for the study of the 'Names of the Paroschinaris of Auchtergawen c.1650'. This is where in a local population listing, the tenants are not clearly identified from the sub-tenants and others, one works from the premise that at least one family, usually the first named at a location, are invariably the main tenants there. This reasoning is derived from the fact that where similar estate rentals and listings of the period do name the occupiers of a property, whether a shared tenancy or otherwise, the first named at the location or possession is invariably the main tenant there. To the number of potential main tenants are then added those whose designation, or occupation, suggest that they are likely to be above the subtenant strata. This procedure can of course understate the unknown number of shared tenancies, although such can at times be ascertained by extrapolating from adjacent data.² Research strategies such as these, that are aimed at achieving identification by deduction from limited resources, cannot claim to be perfect, but are

¹ N. Maclean-Bristol (ed), *Inhabitants of the Inner Isles, - Morvern and Ardnamurchan 1716* (S.R.S. 1998), x.

² Using data from the Exchequer Rolls for the sixteenth century, Dodgshon shows even at that early date there were few shared tenancies in our study area, with an exception being Tiree where a rental of 1541 produces an average of 3.57 tenants in each of 22 townships. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 127.

an invaluable preliminary for endeavouring to ascertain the social composition, or status, of those who inhabited a location some 300 to 400 or more years ago, particularly where the likely differences between the tenants and the other ordinary folk residing there are simply not specified.

The exercise outlined shows that of the 2,165 males in the *Inner Isles* in 1716, at least 334 (15.43 per cent), or 2 out of 13, were likely to be the main tenants, among an unknown number of shared tenancies (Table 4).

Table 4.

Estimates from Argyll's horning 1675 and Stonefield's survey 1716.

	1675.	per cent	1716	per cent
Male Macleans etc:	522.	100%	Males aged over 16: 2,165.	100 %
Tenants or above	219.	42%	Main tenants or above: 334.	15.4%
Subtenants & others	303.	58%	Subtenantry & others: 1,831.	84.6.6%

Those sharing tenancies are not identified within these figures

This decrease from 42 per cent potential main possessors listed in the horning of 1675, could have been due to a number or combination of reasons, such as:

- a) The inclusion in 1716 of more subtenants and others, other than the main Macleans and their adherents identified in 1675.
- b) The 1716 survey may have covered a larger area (this is difficult to ascertain, as the 1675 horning locations are surmised from the designations of those cited).
- c) A decline in shared tenancies between 1675 and 1716.
- d) The consolidation or merging of tacks by 1716.
- e) The acquisition of single tenant properties and/or sale of shared properties.

Hidden, and outwith the figures of the survey of the *Inner Isles* &c. in 1716, are the unnamed number of wives, women and children aged under sixteen years, who may also have been working the holdings, although an unknown number of the adult sons, brothers, and other male members of the extended family, may well have been sharing a living, or indeed sharing the tenancy of the same property. On its own this initial

rudimentary study based upon single occupancies, less the unknown number of shared tenancies, could suggest that a questionably high 84 per cent of highland west coast families may have been subtenants or cottars in 1716 (a figure more in keeping with that for parts of the region in 1816). One problem is that the 84 per cent could include tenants whose status is concealed by the presence of tacksmen. Considering that Dodgshon's investigations show an average of 4.6 'occupiers' per township based upon rentals of the early eighteenth century, and five 'occupiers' per Kintyre township c. 1636, based upon a fuller listing of the social groups, then a figure of 2.5 occupiers per holding in the region as a whole in 1716 does not seem possible, even after allowing for the c.1636 listing being based upon only those who had stock to graze.

Working again from a similar preliminary single occupancy analysis of the mainly lowland, yet better farming land in the parish of Auchtergaven in Perthshire, where only the first listed at each location was considered as being a likely tenant, by this reasoning it can be seen that as early as c.1650, three quarters of the families there would have been below the rank of tenant. A figure which for Auchtergaven may well have declined to 50 per cent by 1716, but like Argyll, the important factor of shared tenancy figures for Auchtergaven for c.1650 and c.1716 has yet to be obtained.

The relevance of Webster's survey of 1755 for this west coast project is crucial in that his figures were intended to include all social groups, and although his calculations do not distinguish between the tenant and subtenant strata, they do provide an idea of what the population of a specific Established Church parish was likely to have been in 1755. But as the boundaries of the Earl of Argyll's holdings, mentioned in the aforementioned surveys and listings, do not in most instances coincide with those of the established church parishes, then it would be a time-consuming, and perhaps incomplete exercise, to try and reconcile the figures for the inhabitants of the whole of the Argyll estate c.1755, to those of Webster. However the parish-sized exception, which still contributes to the progress of this study into the eighteenth century, is the island of Tiree.

TIREE, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

For the estate paper information available for a specific location, such as a parish or barony, to have the necessary values for a study, it is important to clarify whether the whole of that location to which the data pertains, remained within the possession of the same proprietor, or in the same proportions to the same proprietors. In this case we are working from the premise that the Tiree sources utilised refer to the whole. This evidence of ownership dates from rentals of 1652 and 1680 noted by Dodgshon as before and after Argyll 'took over most of the island from MacLean of Duart', in which Argyll was infeft in 1659 according to the horning of 1675, through to the more informative surveys by Stonefield for 1716, Webster for 1755, Turnbull for 1768,¹ and the survey published by the S.R.S. of 1779.²

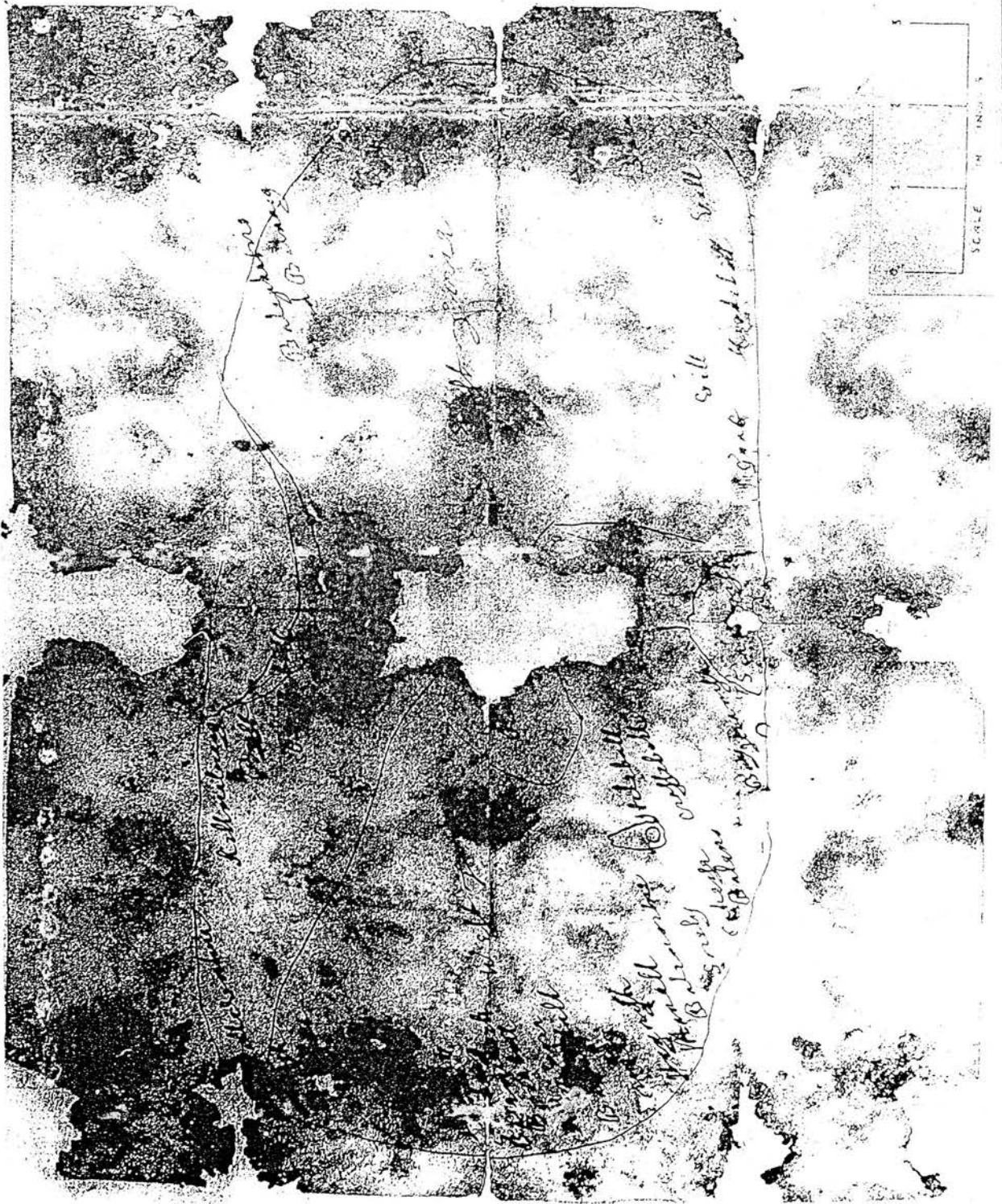
Timperley's *Directory of Landownership in Scotland c.1770*, indicates that based upon a valuation roll for Argyllshire dated 1751 (N.A.S.: E106/3/2), the only proprietor of the island and parish of Tiree then is the duke of Argyll.³ By comparing the names of the locations and farmtouns listed in the surveys of 1751 and 1779, with those shown on an Argyll estate map of Tiree of c.1768 (N.A.S., RHP 8826) and Thomson's map of 1824,⁴ it is evident that the duke of Argyll was the owner of the whole of Tiree, at least from 1751 to 1779. But endeavouring to verify whether the properties listed in 1751 and 1779 are the same as those mentioned in the survey of 1716 and the horning of 1675, is no easy matter, due to the different spellings of locations that were used by the various clerks.

¹ Tiree 1768, Survey by James Turnbull (N.A.S., RHP 8826).

² E.R. Cregeen (ed) *Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate 1779*.

³ L. R. Timperley, *A Directory of Landownership in Scotland c.1770* (S.R.S. 1976). pp 28, 44.

⁴ John Thomson (Publishers), *Map of Argyllshire* (Edinburgh 1824).
Available with other counties from National Library of Scotland, Map Room.



A very rough sketch map of Tiree of c.1680, exemplifying how fragile and difficult to interpret some sources are - reduced 30%.
(N.A.S. ref: RHP 6795 with permission of Duke of Argyll.)

To assist clarification and to demonstrate the palaeographic differences in the naming of locations, which could be a challenge to many a student, reference is made to what is perhaps the only surviving seventeenth-century map of Tiree. This very rough sketch map of c.1680 from the Argyll Muniments exemplifies how fragile and virtually primitive some of the lesser known sources can be (see fig viii). For example a property or farmtoun in the 1675 horning listed as Wyell (or Vyell), could be the same property as Vaall mentioned in 1716, Vaull or Vuill (both listed separately) in 1751, and Vall in 1779. Likewise it is not straightforward to decide which of two locations listed as Baliphelis, and Ballifully in 1675, is the Balliphuill of 1716, and Balephetrish and Balephuill in 1768. Added to which, the c.1680 sketch map of Tiree can be seen as possessing a number of spellings which seem to defy all imagination.

The problems in interpreting the names of geographical locations may present some difficulties for the student of family history, but for the purpose of establishing who the overall proprietor of Tiree was, nothing was encountered during the course of analysing these names, to detract from the earls or dukes of Argyll being the sole proprietors of the island, during our period of interest. Consequently, any information that can be gleaned from the sources in question, is highly likely to contribute in the quest to identify what the proportion of tenants to subtenants and others may have been on Tiree, at differing periods, in order to facilitate constructive comparisons, and identify changes. Stonefield's survey of April 1716 notes that 433 males aged over 16 were residing at 33 different locations in Tiree parish at that time. By deducting 76 who are stated as being sons, brothers, or servants who are likely to be residing in the same house as the first named in that potential family grouping, we are then left with 357 male potential heads of households, but Stonefield does not tell us who were tenants and who were not. However, to begin ascertaining what percentage of these households may have been tenants, we can return to the rental for the island which had produced the following figures for 1662:

20 shared x 6.7 = 134 + 12 single = 146 tenants in 32 Tiree townships.

An observation by Dodgshon, possibly derived from the now unavailable Inveraray papers, notes that around one third of the Tiree rentals in 1680 were held by

a single tenant,¹ but the shared tenancy figure for that year is not given. Nevertheless, supported by Dodgshon's analysis, Turnbull's more comprehensive survey of the inhabitants of Tiree in 1768² can be interpreted as showing:

year	townships	single tenancy	shared tenancy	average of shared	
1768	34	3	30	7.51.	or:
$30 \text{ shared} \times 7.51 = 225.3 + 3 \text{ single} = 228 \text{ tenants in 34 Tiree townships.}$					

Then considering the year 1716 is virtually mid-way between the data which indicates 146 tenants in 1662 and 228 tenants in 1768, it can then be estimated that around 187 persons could have been tenants in the island and parish of Tiree in 1716.

As Stonefield indicates there were 357 male potential heads of households residing there of which 187 we estimate were tenants; we are now able to venture that in 1716 around 47.62 per cent of the inhabitants of Tiree were likely to have been subtenants or cottars.

That there were as many as 433 males aged over sixteen in Tiree in 1716, suggests that there was likely to have been an overall population in that parish of around 1,000 souls at that time. This tends to be substantiated by Webster, Turnbull, Cregeen, and the *O.S.A.*, who show respectively that the overall population of Tiree had grown by 1755 to 1,509 souls, by 1768 to 1,676, by 1779 to 1,881, and by 1792 it had reached a total of 2,416 inhabitants, with the figure for 1792 indicating a massive 60 per cent increase in population in just 37 years.³ To explain the reasons for such a change, a study of the survey of the Argyll Estate undertaken for most of the holdings in 1779, shows that the population of our *Inner Isles &c.* which excludes mainland areas such as Kintyre, Inveraray, and Roseneath, is estimated at 7,267, of which 1,881 (25.9 per cent) are in Tiree parish.⁴

¹ Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 132.

² Tiree 1768, Survey by James Turnbull (N.A.S., RHP 8826).

³ *O.S.A.* vol XX, 265-6.

⁴ Cregeen (ed) *Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate*, 1779.

The Scottish Record Society's publication, the *Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate, 1779*, appears to incorporate the same geographical area as that outlined in Argyll's horning of 1675 and in Stonefield's survey of 1716. Therefore to facilitate comparisons an attempt is made to extract, from the 1779 survey, information pertaining to those parts of the Argyll estate which are as near identical to those studied in the listings of 1675 and 1716.

The information supplied for the persons and locations in the 1779 survey, does not claim to be uniform, but the material is far more informative than that contained in the listings of 1675 and 1716. The 1779 survey identifies the vast majority of the tenants, subtenants, cottars and others, with the ages of most persons shown. The 1779 survey also includes women, and classifies all aged under sixteen years as children. This sixteen year age limit is particularly convenient for making comparisons with the information contained in the survey made for virtually the same geographical area in 1716, which delineates between males aged over and under 16 years. Likewise this sixteen year age limit is useful for the comparisons that are intended with the mainland sources that are being investigated, especially that of the 'Paroschinars of Auchtergawin past the age of fyftein zeires', c.1650.

In a data-base study of the 1779 survey of the Argyll estate, very few women are shown as the tenant or head of the household, most of the exceptions being where a widow's eldest male child is aged under sixteen years. Subsequently there are also instances where males aged between sixteen to eighteen are listed as the main tenant or householder, with their mother and younger siblings residing in the same house. Therefore the 1779 survey is primarily a listing of the available male heads of a household. Nevertheless, that the ages of many of the inhabitants are given in this survey, facilitates the identification of the immediate and extended families, and helps to refine the analysis of the ratio of tenants, to subtenants and other ordinary folk. Males aged under sixteen years are mostly grouped on the data-base study as, 'and family'. Some just over sixteen are included as adult male inhabitants, as it is unclear whether they are residing with an older householder, and it cannot be assumed that these younger adult males are all employed where they lived. At the conclusion of the survey of the *Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate, 1779*, Cregeen notes that:

The grand total (whole estate) should be 13,835. This, however does not include men and youths away in the war and fishing, or the men and woman engaged in seasonal work in the Lowlands, who had not returned when the census was taken. Probably a realistic total for the whole estate would not fall far short of 15,000.¹

Flinn uses the same source to indicate there was 'a smaller example of 4,157 people in Morvern, Mull, and Iona in 1779'.² We know that Stonefield's survey taken in 1716 lists 2,165 males aged over sixteen, at virtually the same location. But the definition of exactly what constituted a tenant, or tenancies, on the Argyll estates had altered radically in the period between 1716 and 1779. Summarising events up to 1790, Macinnes explains that piecemeal tenurial tinkering had occurred on most Highland estates prior to the 'Forty-Five'. The introduction of competitive tendering traced to Kintyre at the outset of the eighteenth century, was not systematically applied however until 1737, when the tenurial reforms initiated by Argyll ended the 'baile' (traditional township) as the basic unit of management and cultivation. The elimination of the traditional township was effected in Morvern, Mull and Tiree. The duke deemed that a recession in droving was grounds for eliminating the tacksmen, and monopolising rents on estates which had been troublesome after the eviction of the Macleans. Tenurial reform through competitive bidding entailed the exploitation of 'duthchas'.³

Tacksman were set against clansmen to secure the lease of each township. If the tacksmen offered the higher bid, he was obliged to farm as the single tenant, retaining a few clansmen as cottars or servants. If the clansmen outbid him, they continued to farm their multiple tenancy, but were deprived of the tacksmen's managerial and marketing expertise. In the event, three-quarters of the townships became single tenant farms.⁴

Evidently, even as single tenants, most of the former tacksmen had sufficient capital to retain their social standing, although they may only have acquired a quarter

¹ Cregeen (ed), *Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate*, 1779, 124.

² M. Flinn, *Scottish Population History* (Cambridge 1977). 282.

³ Macinnes uses the Gaelic word *Duthchas* to summarise the clan heritage and trusteeship of territories and possessions. *Clanship, Commerce & the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, xiv.

⁴ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce & the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 222.

of the leases through competitive bidding; this still represented three quarters of the land, but their power was now based on commercial rather than the traditional sources. By the removal of this managerial stratum that had linked the House of Argyll with the ordinary Campbell clansman, the dismantling of the clan system was underway.¹

The change to written leases since the survey of 1716 not only reduced the number of shared tenancies, but such consolidations usually tend to indicate that an accompanying population loss would seem inevitable. Of the 1,512 adult householders located in the 1779 Argyll Estate survey as possibly residing at the same locations as those listed in the horning of 1675 and the 1716 survey, 33.6 per cent are identified as tenants. By allowing that some of the younger adult males and extended family could have been working the same holding, this figure might be rounded up somewhat, but from the information that is available, it can be estimated that by 1779, only around a third of the inhabitants of the Inner Isles &c. sector of the Argyll Estate, were likely to have been of the rank of tenant or above.

This shrinkage in the proportion of tenancies tends to confirm the observations of scholars such as Macinnes, that in parts of Argyll, and in Kintyre in particular by 1790; 'three-quarters of the townships became single tenant farms'². To a certain extent though, these figures do not reflect the considerable increase in the actual size of the farms as a result of the agricultural improvements of the early to mid eighteenth century. The 1779 survey figures also conceal a difference which was emerging between the subtenants who were still fairly autonomous, especially on the smaller unimproved shared holdings, and the subtenants who had to do most of their work on these new larger farms. Many of these were no doubt residing in a croft or cottage which, with the expiry of a tack or lease, could eventually have become a tied cottage, where the right to accommodation was only as secure as the right to employment. At this point it should be stressed that the area of Argyll covered by this study, and the observations of Macinnes pertaining to it, had seen commercialisation earlier than many other parts of the western and northern Highlands and Islands, where in a number

¹ E. Cregeen, 'Tenurial Reorganisation in Mull, Morvern & Tiree', in *Scottish Studies*, 13 (1969), 93-145.

² Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce & the House of Stuart*, 222.

of instances the major changes in agricultural practices only occurred after 1800. Nevertheless, for the region as a whole, scholars tend to agree that the size of its subtenant and cottar class was steadily increasing throughout the eighteenth century.¹

For ascertaining the tenant to subtenant ratio among the inhabitants of Tiree, whose population is given by Turnbull as 1,676 souls in 1768² and by Cregeen as 1,881 in 1779.³ The information for this parish is a lot more informative than that for the rest of the estate. The 1768 survey lists 236 tenants and a total of 406 assumed heads of households among a population of 1,676, being 4.13 persons per household. But we also refer once again to the following analysis outlined by Dodgshon:⁴

year	townships	single tenancy	shared tenancy	average of shared	
1768	34	3	30	7.51.	or:

30 shared x 7.51 = 225.3 + 3 single = 228.3 tenants in 34 Tiree townships.

That we have a difference of 7.7 persons suggests that a compromise figure of 232 tenants is not at all untoward, for allowing us to proceed without having to resort to potentially time consuming correspondence with Dodgshon. Therefore allowing that around 232 of the 406 households were those of tenants, it can then be calculated that by 1768 around 42.86 per cent of the inhabitants of Tiree were likely to be subtenants or cottars, which is only a small reduction from the 47.62 per cent who were estimated as being of that status in 1716. Turnbull's figures also show that on Tiree in 1768 a woman was the head in 39 per cent of these subtenant and cottar households.

In the 1779 survey of Tiree, in addition to names, sex, and ages, individuals are usefully categorised into tenants, cottars, and workmen. From these listings it is however difficult to identify if one household is separated from another, and whether certain adults are servants or relatives residing within a household where a family grouping seems evident, or whether lone adults constitute a separate household. Once

¹ M. Gray, *The Highland Economy* (Edinburgh, 1957), 231-33.

² Tiree 1768, Survey by James Turnbull (N.A.S., RHP 8826).

³ Cregeen, *Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate 1779*.

⁴ Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 129.

again there is no indication in the Tiree figures for 1779, as to which are sole or shared tenancy, and although rentals are likely to be extant for the late eighteenth century, we still cannot foresee when the Argyll Estate will make its papers available again for studies of this nature. The 1779 population figures for Tiree list 457 males and 560 females aged over sixteen years, and 864 children aged under sixteen years, this being a total of 1,881 souls residing at 32 specified locations or townships within that parish, giving an average of 58.8 persons per location, of which there is an average of 14.3 males aged over sixteen years at each of the 32 locations.

Macinnes had indicated that by the second half of the eighteenth century three-quarters of Highland and Island townships became single tenancies, and three-quarters of the land was acquired by former tacksmen. This study has shown that between 1716 and 1779 the percentage of Inner Isles &c. households below the rank of tenant had increased to around 66.4 per cent, but the 1779 survey of Tiree households shows a different pattern. A data-base analysis of the 1779 Tiree survey shows that of the 445 identified households, 258 households or 58 per cent, are deemed those of tenant rank or above, which is virtually identical to our findings for the same parish based upon Turnbull's survey of 1768. That so many are the tenants of an island parish of around 18,000 acres suggests that a high proportion of the land must be arable, a factor verified where Dodgshon's studies show that it was the fourth highest for this Highland and Island study area, with an average of 242 acres per township.¹ It also occurred that a tradition of a high density of tenancies in such small areas as these may also have facilitated the introduction of crofting. With the Tiree figures calling into question the initial data for the remaining tenancies on the Argyll estate, the findings of other scholars such as Macinnes, suggest that at least 25 per cent of these were likely to have been multiple tenancies in the second half of the eighteenth century. This indicates that of the 250 households outwith Tiree in the Inner Isle &c. that were estimated in 1779 as being those of tenants, 25 per cent or 62.5 households were likely to have been multiple tenancies. However, by adding the total of 250 tenant households outwith Tiree to the 258 tenant households already identified for that island, we have 508 tenant

¹ Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 136.

households in the study area altogether. These figures indicate that of the 1512 households identified in 1779 as being in the Inner Isles &c. 508 or 33.6 per cent, were likely to have been the households of tenants.

As this is still well below the 58 per cent for Tiree, this leaves the possibility that these calculations might not account for many who may have subsisted on smallholdings, the likes of which are still present to this day, as a traditional part of the smallholding, crofting culture of the northern and western fringes of the 'Gaidhealtachd'. These small holdings as such seem to have been evident as early as the earl of Argyll's action of 1675, in which at least twenty six possessors or occupiers, are identified as residing on the small island of Iona (alias Icolmkil).

This figure of 66.4 per cent of the inhabitants of the Argyll Estate c.1779, being below the rank of tenant, is a stark contrast to the situation which seems to have existed in the better farming areas of Scotland's central, southern and eastern and lowlands, where for example in Auchtergaven parish in Perthshire in 1791, only one in six (or 16 per cent) of the inhabitants of the Auchtergaven's Obnies district, would appear to have been subtenants or other ordinary folk. In fact the figure of 66.4 per cent of the Argyll Estate's inhabitants being below the rank of tenant c.1779, is only an improvement on the 76 per cent estimated as being below that rank in the Auchtergaven listing of inhabitants of c.1650. But it should always be emphasised that the c.1650 Auchtergaven percentages are qualified to the extent that the shared tenancy figures for that parish in the seventeenth century have yet to be identified, although the available Murthly Estate rentals for the period (studied in chapter 2) indicate that the numbers for the shared tenancies then are not likely to involve any substantial differences.

The foregoing figures could be seen as reflecting an underlying theme in the work of scholars who argue that some social upheavals were inevitable, especially in those northern and western coast districts where a population of around 66 per cent, who were likely to have been below the rank of tenant, kept on increasing. Many of these folk were required, in a very short space of time, to disperse to other locations and vocations, either within Britain, or overseas. For example David Turnock's examination of demographic developments in the western and northern Highland

counties demonstrates that no seventeenth and eighteenth-century study of such developments for this region would be complete without reference to the rest of the story, concerning the reactions to these developments which did not peak until the mid nineteenth century, and the resulting aftermath which was still being measured in the mid twentieth century. According to Webster the population of the seven Highland and Island counties in 1755 was 250,000, rising to 300,000 with the 1801 census. Peaking at 390,000 in 1851 the population had declined to 350,000 in 1901 and 280,000 in 1951. This decline is even more dramatic when we consider that the 250,000 in 1755 represented 20 per cent of Scotland's population whereas the 280,000 in 1951 represents just 5.6 per cent.¹

Blair-Imrie is more emphatic about a possible prime cause for these regional contrasts. Although his study is primarily east coast orientated, he sees the agricultural revolution as having arisen from the demands of the market which both landlord and tenant were willing to meet.² Therefore the adverse distance of the north and west coast locations from these markets, could have been crucial.

R. Wall's work details further examples of such differences, and other factors, which are perceived as dividing societies. These range from differences that are considered as being within a Western European context, and those that are present at a national level. e.g. the substantial differences in the age of heads of households between England and Western Flanders, the time individuals spent in service in the two countries, and the different social structures which still persist between southern and northern France.³ Some scholars such as Robert Tyson have ventured the opinion that Scottish social studies are likely to have much more in common with similar work relating to Scandinavia, rather than with that which is being carried out for other

¹ D. Turnock, *Patterns of Highland Development* (London, 1970), 191.

² H. Blair-Imrie, 'The relationship between land ownership and Commercialisation of agriculture in Angus, 1740-1820' (Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh, 2001), 371.

³ R. Wall, 'Does owning real property influence the form of household: An example from Rural Flanders', in R. Wall, J. Robin, & P. Laslett (eds.), *Family Forms in historic Europe* (Cambridge 1983), 379-407.

regions in Europe. This view is re-enforced by Tyson in his recent work on 'Demographic Change' where he outlines not only virtually identical eighteenth-century crude birth and death rates with Sweden, but also where early in the same century the Shetland authorities had prohibited the marriage of persons without sufficient property or occupation,¹ a fertility control system which also existed in Iceland until well into the nineteenth century. Likewise G. A. Gunnlaugsson's work pertaining to the fishing and subsistence farming communities in Iceland, can in many respects be said to have a number of factors in common with the communities on Scotland's north and west coast.² Gunnlaugsson concedes that although his study may offer some extreme examples of the western European household model, put forward by P. Laslett and R. Wall,³ it does contain many similar characteristics. In particular, Gunnlaugsson exemplifies that the variations in social structures between countries, 'and in different regions within a country', should be explained by cultural factors, since economic variables have not always offered convincing explanations. This is evident especially in the north and west, the 'Gaidhealtachd' where the rugged geographical features of a terrain intermixed with peat bog and odd patches of arable, had impeded the agricultural improvements which occurred elsewhere in Scotland in the eighteenth century. As a result the eventual introduction of relatively sudden changes involving the abandoning of what little arable there was in favour of sheep and grazing, undoubtedly contributed to the traumas and social upheavals that persisted in Scotland's northern and western counties, well into the nineteenth century.

¹ R. E. Tyson, 'Demographic Change' in T. E. Devine and J. R. Young (eds), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Linton, 1999), 199, 206.

² G. A. Gunnlaugsson, *Family and Household in Iceland 1801-1930* (Uppsala, 1988), 175-6.

³ Laslett and Wall put forward the thesis that the nuclear family has been the dominant family from almost everywhere in Europe during the past four centuries. P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds), *Household and family in Past Time* (Cambridge 1972).

CONCLUSIONS.

The wide contrast in the late eighteenth century between the high proportion of Tiree and other Argyll west coast subtenants and others, compared to the complete reversals which seems to have occurred in the better farming areas of the mainland, brings to the fore a number of questions. Foremost is where the 'Silent or Lowland Clearances' of Scotland's good farming areas in the central, eastern and lowlands, are seen as having already occurred as a result of the agricultural improvements that were gradually implemented in these regions, throughout the eighteenth century. The studies outlined in the previous Auchtergaven chapter demonstrate that many of the subtenants and other ordinary folk, who formerly resided in these prime mainland farming areas, had, by the late eighteenth century, left the land to fuel the rapidly increasing momentum of the Industrial Revolution. This transferring of vocational venues would appear to have been the exhaust valve for any potential unrest. In fact the expansion of the workforce for the Industrial Revolution, is uncannily proportional to the contraction of the agricultural workforce. Migration and emigration from Tiree and other western and north western coastal areas is indeed evident, but explanations are required as to why a far higher proportion of persons below the rank of tenant were still residing on Tiree and other Argyll west costal areas c.1779, whereas their contemporaries in the better farming areas of the mainland seem to have adjusted in turning to other occupations. A possible reason for this situation fits with Blair-Imrie's aforementioned theory of the distance, of these northern and western locations, from the available markets and accessible venues for alternative employment.

In this context it should be reiterated that fundamental to the slow pace of change detected in the study of the Argyll Estate documentation, is that Scotland's north and west coast simply does not have the quality of terrain to allow for the agricultural improvements that had transformed the arable areas of central, eastern and lowland Scotland. Therefore geography may indeed have dictated that the markets for any agricultural surplus generated by the improvements of land management elsewhere were simply not accessible or of no consequence to the north and west of Scotland. It

would therefore appear that both the tenants, and their subtenants, cottars, and other ordinary folk in that region and on parts of the Argyll estates, were trapped, albeit unconsciously, in endeavouring to work within an age old agricultural system, which was governed to a very large extent by the very structure of the terrain. That this land offered little if any room for the gradual implementation of improvements, which might have provided time for assimilation and re-adjustment, could have been fundamental for the inhabitants of these northern and western fringes, being unable to avoid the subsequent social upheaval and devastation. This, Dodgshon's work indicates, was possibly brought about when the chieftains, who had transformed themselves into landowners, resorted to sheep farming, at the expense of the little arable that was available to their former dependants and clansmen.

An alternative consideration for the differences in the composition of the agricultural labour force on Tiree and the north and west coast, compared with that elsewhere in mainland Scotland in the late eighteenth century, may also have been one of culture. Once again the rugged, and at times inaccessible terrain is a significant factor that can be seen as having helped to preserve cultural differences, a number of which are still evident in these highland and island areas to this day. There were distant ethnic and political differences from the rest of Scotland, such as the virtual independence of the Lordship of the Isles, which existed right up to the late fifteenth century. Likewise differences in language, forms of worship within the Christian religion, and even sporting activities, from those that are commonplace throughout the rest of Scotland, still survive. It may not therefore have been slowness in adopting the new agricultural methods of the eighteenth century, but simply no perceived desire to implement changes, especially changes which were perhaps deemed as irrelevant, to the particular and traditional way of life which had persisted in the 'Gaidhealtachd'.¹

Yet to be clarified in this study is the presence on Tiree, and elsewhere on Scotland's west coast, of what were either a very large number of shared tenancies or numerous individual small holdings. This was evident where Dodgshon found around

¹ Exactly what constituted 'The changing boundaries of the Gaidhealtachd' are outlined by C. W. J. Withers, in *Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981* (Edinburgh 1984).

five occupiers per farmtoun in Argyll c.1636,¹ and where twenty six persons were indicated as being either main possessors or occupiers on the small island of Iona (Icolmkil) in the Earl of Argyll's horning of 1675. It would not perhaps be untoward to envisage that the habitual use of what could only have been small parcels or shared runrig strips of land, may possibly have facilitated the gradual acceptance and transition in the nineteenth century to the equally small crofter's holdings, which still survives in some of those locations to this day. Of the many works on the wider aspects of nineteenth to twentieth-century crofting perhaps that of James Hunter provides the most recent contributions.² But whether these smallholders were deemed small tenants, or of the subtenantry, was probably not clarified until the Crofting Acts of the nineteenth century, which elevated them to rights which were at least similar to those enjoyed by small tenants elsewhere in Scotland. The persistence of these small holdings on Tiree, parts of Argyll and in the north and west of Scotland, may also be reflective of a traditional need to rely on subsistence farming, with little if any to spare for the markets. A factor which once again tends to highlight geographical, physical and cultural differences of those parts from the rest of the country.

¹ Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 131.

² For a detailed study of the nineteenth to twentieth-century crofters see, J Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh, 2000).

4. IDENTIFYING THE URBAN TENANTS AND OTHERS.

In the appraisal of records that have survived for the rural districts of Scotland, such as those studied hitherto in Perthshire and Argyllshire, those below the rank of tenant are variously described by scholars as being subtenants, cottars and others, with the 'others' in particular being a general term for a miscellany of seasonal agricultural workers and tradesmen, many of whom were likely to be young, single, and migrant. With an objective of this project being to include the analysis of at least one urban area, the terminology used to describe those below the rank of tenant in an urban environment is different. For those dwelling within a royal burgh, burgh of barony or similar location where the housing and occupations cannot be deemed as rural, primarily the term cottar is no longer relevant. Cottars are usually married farm workers occupying a cottage, with or without some rural land, according to the terms of their contract.¹ Even a possessor in an urban or suburban setting is in some regions referred to as a tenementer, this being the holder of a tenement or feu of land within a village. Although the term tenementer is perhaps more evident in south-west Scotland,² this designation is very descriptive of those with similar possessions in other areas, including the collection of suburban and industrial urban districts that were a feature of St Cuthbert's parish in the seventeenth century, and especially in the tiers of tenements in the adjoining burgh of Edinburgh. However, the subsequent study will show that in a suburban location such as the parish of St Cuthbert's, the main rural designations of landlord, tenant, subtenant and others, become intermixed with the main urban designations of proprietor, tenant and other indwellers. In an urban location the 'others' can be construed as being a general term for a miscellany of artisan workers, servants, apprentices, journeymen and day labourers, many of whom were likely to be young, single and who, either by accident or the nature of their work, could become transitory. With the exception of the day labourers and journeymen, most of these 'other' indwellers may have been residing within the house of an employer who was an owner occupier, or the main tenant of a house or tenement.

¹ Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland*, 38-39.

² N.A.S. *Particular Registers of Sasines*; mostly Ayrshire.

The main quest now was to try and ascertain what the proportion may have been of subtenants and others to landlords, or house-owning proprietors, residing within an urban environment. Initially the records for the burgh of Perth were among those considered as having some potential, as useful lists of inhabitants of that burgh are extant for the years 1766 and 1773. However, among the seventeenth-century records which survive for Perth, the only source evident which might possibly be extended to include persons from all social groups were some Poll Tax figures dated 1694. These indicate whether the tax is paid by an unmarried man or a widow; a child is seldom mentioned but the numbers of servants and apprentices are. 541 Poll Tax payers were listed, a figure which can be increased to 996 persons in tax paying households where the identifiable families are included. Peter Vasey states: 'Evidence from the Hearth and Poll Tax returns of the 1690s suggests that the population of Perth was probably around 5,000 at the close of the seventeenth century. The population of the burgh was thus much the same at the close of the century as it had been at the beginning'. That Perth's population varied little in the seventeenth century may be correct, but it should be emphasised that Vasey's figure can only be a rough estimate.¹ Nevertheless, as only 996 persons are identified as tax payers and their families in Perth's surviving Poll Tax records, when this is compared with an available estimate of 5,000 inhabitants of Perth at that time, we would seem to be left with two alternative explanations:

1. That only 996 persons were in Poll Tax families out of a population of around 5,000, a ratio of 1 paying to 4 non-tax paying families, is questionable, therefore:
2. As 80 per cent of Perth's estimated population appears to be unaccounted for, this suggests that the surviving Poll Tax roll for that burgh could be far from complete.

With the Poll Tax listing for Perth representing around 996 souls, or 20 per cent out of an estimated population of 5,000, it seems far from being at all comprehensive. The Poll Tax was intended to encompass all social groups, with the exception of

¹ P. Vasey, 'The Economy and Social Geography of Perth in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries' (University of Stirling Thesis, MSc degree, 1987). 13 & 15. - in which Vasey cites W. Barclay 'Some glimpses of life in Perth three hundred years ago' in *Perth Society for Natural Science* (Perth, 1918), VI, part 5, p 1. - 'we have no means of finding accurate figures, - but they did not exceed 5,000'.

vagrants, the poor, and children.¹ In a similar study for Edinburgh, Helen Dingwall is of the opinion that the Poll Tax covered at least two-thirds of the population in that burgh.² Slight variations from her study, based upon 66 per cent of Edinburgh's population, might be acceptable, but a study based upon just 20 per cent of Perth's population from the same source, is far from satisfactory. Sadly no other seventeenth-century population listings for Perth are evident from which acceptable data could be formulated, to enable comparisons to be made with that burgh's annuity tax rolls which date from 1712, and some very useful listings of inhabitants for Perth for the years 1766 and 1773. Setbacks of this nature clearly demonstrate that, irrespective of whether an intended study area is rural or urban, unless population listings with acceptable parameters are located, from which a degree of reliable statistics can be drawn, the validity of any results produced is likely to be questionable.

In identifying an urban location for which acceptable local population listings exist for facilitating seventeenth to eighteenth century comparisons, results from an Aberdeen study were imminent and the records of many middle size county burghs were found to be inadequate. Acceptable lists of inhabitants for the seventeenth century in particular were simply not identified for Ayr, Dumbarton, Forfar, Lanark, or Stirling. But in Webster's population listings one could not ignore the fact that, although not recognised as a burgh, or town, St Cuthberts' 12,168 population was Scotland's eighth largest,³ with the Poll Tax showing that it had a residential professional and merchant stratum of society whose numbers exceeded that of many a county burgh. Also, and most important, for these folk, there were found to be collections of examination rolls that have survived from both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

ST CUTHBERTS OR WEST KIRK - A POTENTIAL STUDY AREA.

Scholars are beginning to use third-world analogies in recognising that in our

¹ Devine, *The transformation of rural Scotland*, 4. - also exemptions are explained in: Helen M. Dingwall, *Late 17th century Edinburgh: a demographic study* (Aldershot 1994), 25-26.

² Dingwall, *Late 17th century Edinburgh*, 96.

³ *O.S.A.* vol .I, 144, and vol.II, 4.

study period thousands of unsettled and rootless persons, most from rural areas, appear to have been existing, many in shanty conditions, at diverse locations in and around our larger cities.¹ With the prime objective of this work being to identify the ordinary folk, wherever they dwelt, the St Cuthberts material provided a unique opportunity for examining a location where hitherto the data pertaining to the settled implied that it was not quite acceptable as urban. In reality, the folk within Edinburgh's walls were probably glad they were not on the outside (see also pp 164-67).

For much of the seventeenth century St Cuthberts, like Perth, had the remnants of a landward district gradually absorbed by an expanding populace and manufacturing industries.² Much of this expansion is linked to the outward pressures of Edinburgh, which the horseshoe shaped parish of St Cuthberts embraces to the north, south and west. Therefore the lists of parishoners compiled as 'Examination Rolls' found in the St Cuthberts' kirk session minutes for 1632-39 and 1729-30, were invaluable for this study. The Scots County & Parish Source Index currently in preparation for collating material primarily held by the G.R.O. the N.A.S. and in local archives, lists much of the relevant material for greater Edinburgh and St Cuthberts.³

¹ P. Laslett, *The World we have lost, further explored*, (Cambridge, 1983), 34, 128. - see also: A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men, the vagrancy problem in England 1560-1640* (London, 1985), 84-85. K. J. Cullen, 'Famine in Scotland in 1690s: Causes and Consequences' (PhD thesis, Dundee 2004), 262.

² In addition to the traditional industries at Potterrow, also in St Cuthbert's manufactures were evident along the Waters of Leith as early as 1590, especially in Dalry and Dean. - see W. R. Scott's work on Joint Stock Companies and A. Thomson and R. Waterson's respective works on the paper industry near Edinburgh, all usefully summarised in G. Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits* (Oxford, 1980), 284-85.

³ 685/1. Edinburgh. Births 1595-1854. Marriages 1595-1694, 1696-1854. Deaths 1612-1854. see also Scottish Record Society publications. Examination Rolls: CH2/125/2 (1699,1700-03). CH2/718/210 (West Kirk 1632-39). GD6-7, 14-15, 18, 21-22, 24, 26-30, 32-34, 37-38, 40/1, 41, 44-45, 49-51, 58, 64, 69,76, 81-82, 89-90, 99-100, 103/1-2, 104, 109-110, 113, 115, 118-120, 123-124. E.748 (Dunipace, forfeit 1745).

685/2. St Cuthbert's. B. 1573-76, 1605-42, 1645-57, 1674-1854. M. 1655-56, 1683-97, 1699-1854. D. 1740-1854. see also Scottish Record Society publications. Examination Rolls: CH2/718/210 (1632-39), CH2/718/212 (1729-30). Teinds: TE1/1 (1630-33). TE29/1/2 (1628). GDs (Gifts & Deposits), see Edinburgh.

Where the GD reference numbers for Edinburgh and St Cuthberts above range just from GD6 to GD124, this reflects that when compiled only the GD numbers within that range had been identified as pertaining to these two parishes. Many more GD references are however gradually being incorporated into the N.A.S. computer index system and will become available on-line. - R.A.Fenwick (work in progress).

The foregoing examination rolls of West Kirk (or St Cuthbert's parish) for the years from 1632 to 1639 were found to provide no clear indication of who were landowners, tenants or others. However, upon closer inspection, they do appear to be collated by households, with the head of the household named first. Ages are not given, but as the potential households contain on average between two to four names, these persons listed are anticipated as being only those who are of an age to take communion.

In preparation for a database assisted study, numerous gaps were noted in the West Kirk examination rolls for the years from 1632 and 1639, with 1635 being the year for which most of the original listings survived. The few gaps and omissions that exist in the listings for 1635, are therefore supplemented with material taken from the rolls for the adjoining years 1634 and 1636. The small number of persons listed in each potential household suggests that those mentioned are likely to be aged sixteen years and older. An occasional note appears by some names, such as *seik*, *sies nocht*, *dumb*, *deid*, *afield*, and in rare instances a designation is noted such as *younger*, *vagabond*, *wobs* (wobster? i.e. weaver). There is also one column of codes by each name for which no key is evident. These codes may denote religious status, as the most common is *ad*, possibly signifying 'admit' (to communion), the second most common code is *lb*, the meaning of which is currently not known, although *ylb* frequently appears against the names of those who are invariably listed last in a potential household group, suggesting that those persons may well be young communicants. The third most common factor are the persons against whose names nothing is shown in the code column. Many of these are instead afforded the word *get*, which could indicate 'gets poor relief'.

As a subsidiary to this project, a detailed study of any surviving kirk session minutes or accounts for St Cuthbert's, which may include poor rolls for the 1630s, might clarify whether or not the persons indicated above were in receipt of benefits. Two individuals of interest who were not afforded a code in the c.1635 examination roll, but against whose names there are comments, were residing in Backraw; Barbara Mowat, an *evill speiker*, and residing in Potterow; Walter Scot, who *strykis his wyf*. Barbara and Walter may therefore have been undergoing church discipline.



Extract from St Cuthberts (West Kirk) examination roll 1635
(N.A.S. ref: CH2/718/210. Reduced 30%)

A total of 2,421 names were noted on the West Kirk examination roll which is centred upon the year 1635, of which 791, or 32.67 per cent, nearly a third, were estimated as being the potential householders. Having identified the potential householders in St Cuthbert's or West Kirk parish c.1635, the next step is to try and locate sources which might help to verify which of these households were likely to be those of the rank of tenant or above.

For many rural parishes landowners' rentals survive. These rentals are usually found among estate papers left as Gifts or Deposits (GDs) with the N.A.S., or, for some estates which have retained their papers, a list of contents may be available in the repertory books of the National Register of Archives (Scotland) or N.R.A.(S.). In rural areas, where there are likely to be only one or two main landowners for each parish or barony, these rentals are vital for ascertaining the ratios of tenants, subtenants and others, providing that a fairly comprehensive list of inhabitants is also extant for the location and period in question. In an urban or suburban location such as St Cuthbert's, where a greater number of landlords and potential proprietors were competing for areas of land, which could diminish in availability and size of holding as the encroaching urban population increased, the situation is quite different. The amount of individual estate papers pertaining to an urban or sub-urban parish can be substantial, as the amount of GDs listed in the foregoing Parish Source Compilations for Edinburgh and St Cuthbert's demonstrates. Some of these proprietors may indeed have numerous tenants, but it would be a long and possibly inconclusive task trying to piece together evidence, such as rentals, from the amount of GDs which survive for St Cuthbert's alone, especially where such may or may not exist for the seventeenth century. Therefore, alternative sources are considered which may have the potential of identifying who the proprietors or main tenants were in St Cuthbert's c.1635, so that comparisons could be made with the examination rolls of that date, to ascertain what the ratio may have been to subtenants and others in rural St Cuthbert's, or what the ratio of proprietors to tenants and others was in the urban districts of that parish.

Among the alternative sources to the GDs considered are those concerned with local taxation, as it has long been evident from a variety of sources, especially the registers of hornings for the 1620s and 1630s, that those in a parish or a burgh who

would have been responsible for the payment of local taxes are likely to be only the proprietors and their main tenants. In this respect the Registers of Teinds for rural St Cuthbert's, and the Stent and Annuity rolls for that part of Edinburgh shown on a map derived from the Town Council minutes as being within West Kirk parish,¹ were considered as having potential for this quest.

Teinds, or Teind Sheaf (tenth sheaf): Originally a tenth part of the produce of a parish ultimately paid by the farmer for the support of the church². Their complexities were exemplified from 1617 when parliament appointed a commission to augment ministers' stipends, which met with obstructions.³

Stent Rolls: The valuation of and taxes on land held of the king by barons and Burghs, especially that paid by the Burghs and burgesses - or, an assessment for ecclesiastical or parochial purposes.⁴ But of less scope than the annuity tax.

Annuity Rolls: Lists of the tax usually paid for the upkeep of the minister, and is based upon the household's valued rental.

These are indeed simplistic summaries of what these local taxes were intended for, but this work does not set out to present a history of the origins or complex biography of these particular taxes. The current objective is simply to use these sources as an aid to identify the main tenants, or resident proprietors, as these folk were ultimately those who were responsible for paying these local teind or stent⁵ taxes.

¹Dingwall, *Late 17th century Edinburgh*. fig 1. p 14. This map, derived from Edinburgh Town Council minutes, indicates that part of Tolbooth Kirk, part of the High Street leading to The Spur, and all of The Spur and the Castle, are within West Kirk parish.

² Cormack shows that although by 1635 a commutation Act of 1633 was merging the two separate persons titular of teinds and landowner in one valuation, invariably the actual farmer paid by the terms of his tack or feu. A. A. Cormack, *Teinds and Agriculture: an historical survey* (London, 1930), 102-108.

³ Macinnes also notes teinds had been 'appropriated as a secular resource, controlled mainly by nobles and titulars and leased to other nobles and affluent gentry as tacksmen'. - A. I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625-1641* (Edinburgh, 1991), 38.

⁴ M. Robinson (ed), *Concise Scots Dictionary* (Aberdeen, 1987), 90 & 669.

⁵ Two works present comprehensive studies of the burgh stent taxes in contrasting periods: D. Stevenson, 'Financing the cause of the Covenants, 1638-165', *S.H.R.* 51 (1972), 89-123. - and W. R. Ward, 'The Land Tax in Scotland 1707-1798', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 37 (1954-5), 288-308.

The Registers of Teinds include two sources of immediate interest for what was then the suburban parish of St Cuthbert's, these being a valuation of March 1628 (TE29/1/2), and a valuation for the same parish of January 1630 (TE1/1).¹ The main sources of interest contained in the latter are summarised as follows:

TE1/1. Sederunt Book of High Commissioners of Teinds 1630-33.

Page.

1. Production of St Cuthbert's - details dues, but does not name the tenants.
79. 1 Dec 1630. Valuation of lands of Common Myre, Murrous (Muirhouse), Peffermylne (Peffermill) and King's Meadow, Drum, Guttres (Goodtrees), Priesthill, Todhills, Southhouse, Stratonhall, Mortoun, Mortonhall, Gilmerton and Brunstane, all in St. Cuthberts parish.
(This lists the teinds due and names those whom these properties 'pertain to'. By the designation of them being 'of' a location, most of these proprietors would appear to be the heritors, although some of those listed are no doubt the tenants, especially where they are simply designed as being 'there').
86. Valuation of Stenhouse & St Katherine's in St Cuthbert's parish - lists dues only.
260. 22 January 1630. Valuation of certain lands in St Cuthbert's, negligently forgot to be booked under date: Names and locates 58 tenants, and details their dues.

The information contained in the teind valuations of 1630 combined with that for 1628, shows that at least 92 proprietors or main tenants were responsible for paying the St Cuthbert's parish teinds at that time. An initial comparison with the figure of 791 households derived from the c.1635 examination roll, suggests that 11.63 per cent of the households may have been those of a proprietors, or their main tenants. But in a detailed study to identify the names of the teind payers with those in the examination roll, at least a third of the 92 teind payers were not located, which suggests that they either resided outwith their possession or outwith the parish. 27 were indeed identified as residing outwith the parish of St Cuthbert's, with two of these being institutions: The Kirk Session of Leith, and the North Kirk of Leith. The confusion which emerges from the foregoing examination of the Registers of Teinds, is evidently symptomatic of the state to which the very purpose and existence the teind system had degenerated by the

¹ Kept at N.A.S.

seventeenth century. Lee's summary possibly encapsulates the most proficient explanation of the situation where the problem of the teinds was one of staggering difficulty owing to the many complex and overlapping interests involved.

'First there were those who owed payment in money or kind, from a particular piece of ground: the landlord, either proprietor (heritor) or liferenter, and - if he leases out his land rather than working it himself - his tenant. The tenant's obligation might or might not be included in his rent. Then there were those to whom the payment was owed. In this vast majority of cases this was not the parish minister, for whose benefit the system had originated. It was probably a layman, either the titular, the person who had legal right to the teinds of a particular parish, or the tacksman, the person to whom the titular had either leased or feued his rights. In most cases, however, the titular or tacksman was legally obligated to pay a fixed stipend to the parish minister; this sum was usually a small fraction of the total revenue. A landlord might, of course, be either titular or tacksman of the teinds of his own lands, but most were not; the right to collect teinds on a piece of land had thus become a form of property right in the land, which was separate from ownership or possession. The result was endless dispute, litigation, and, often enough, when collection time came, violence.'¹

The collection of the teinds and the rights to their ownership had therefore become a commercial commodity, just as if the rights for collecting the council tax in various parts of a burgh or a parish had become dispersed among an equally diverse range of individuals, and business consortiums, based in various parts of the country. In the Act of Revocation of 1625 the main objective of Charles I was to recover the teinds for the use of the reformed church. However, the disruption and upheaval of vested interests occasioned by this measure caused such alarm, that it contributed in part to his downfall.²

With many of those listed as responsible for paying St Cuthbert's teinds in 1630 evidently residing elsewhere, possibly within Edinburgh, the Register of Teinds is not able to provide a comprehensive listing for St Cuthbert's, to facilitate ascertaining what the ratios may have been between the main tenants and the other ordinary folk residing there. However, for those researchers who are able to undertake a more protracted study of the inhabitants of St Cuthberts parish circa 1620-30, the Registers of Teinds

¹ M. Lee, *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625-37* (Urbana Ill. 1985). 25-26.

² See also Macinnes, *Charles I and the making of the Covenanted Movement*, chaps 3-4.

still provide very useful listings of those who may have left estate papers, testaments, or other records, which could indicate who their tenants or subtenants were, at a specific period and location within that parish.

Given that an idea of a ratio between those of tenant rank and above and those below that status, for even a part of St Cuthbert's parish, could still have its values, the possibilities are explored for comparing a landowner's rental with a geographically compatible portion of the St Cuthbert's examination rolls. In this respect the Source Index (page 110) shows that the GD (Gifts & Deposits) references are currently known for at least forty-seven collections of estate papers, pertaining to Edinburgh and St Cuthbert's, which are kept by the N.A.S. Subsequently the GD repertory books for all of these collections were investigated, primarily for the documents of those who could be the owners of the properties listed in the aforementioned Registers of Teinds, especially in the 1 Dec 1630 valuation for St Cuthbert's (TE1/1 p 79), for names such as Stewart of Goodtrees, and Napier of Kings Meadows. In this rather specialised and slightly speculative exercise, only one collection seemed to hold potential: GD430, Napier, for the barony of Merchiston in St Cuthbert's. Sadly however, no rentals for the seventeenth century were evident. As the N.A.S. expands its entry of GD references on to its computer index, they anticipate that many more collections of estate papers pertaining to Edinburgh and St Cuthbert's will be identified, but as to whether some of these may contain seventeenth-century rentals for what were the rural areas of St Cuthbert's or West Kirk parish, is at this juncture speculation.

Glaringly absent from the names of the St Cuthbert's locations listed in the foregoing teind registers, but not absent from the c.1635 St Cuthbert's examination rolls, are districts such as: Dean, Stockbridge, Canon Mills, Pleasance, and the south side of Potters Row. That these populated districts are not listed for teinds, indicates that even as early as 1628-30, they were not considered rural, as they appear to have been exempt from the original concept and records for the production of teind sheaves. A similar situation was found to have existed for the parish of Perth. Although listed

in the repertory books as teinds for Perth parish 1612-1702,¹ upon examination these were found to be extant for the landward districts only, such as Friarton, Craigie, and Muirton, with nothing evident for the urban districts which no doubt would have paid local taxes to the burgh. This, by the 1640s, would have been referred to in the burghs as cess and stent. That cess, stent, or annuity rolls do not appear to exist for the eighth largest concentration of population in Scotland, is symptomatic of St Cuthbert's still not being recognised as a burgh, royal or otherwise, although its population by far exceeded that of Portsburgh and Canongate combined, both of which possessed the status of dependent burghs of Edinburgh.

Having failed at this point to identify sufficiently the main tenants of St Cuthbert's as a whole in the 1630s, yet still possessing a useful list of inhabitants and potential households derived from the c.1635 examination rolls of that parish, the possibilities of extrapolating data about tenants from the Hearth and Poll Tax records of the 1690s, was considered. Where they survive, the Hearth Tax rolls do not distinguish between tenants and others, they simply name the person and the number of hearths,² whereas the mass of information about incomes, occupations and social groups contained in the Poll Tax returns, long utilised by student and family historian alike, verifies that the Poll Tax records are a well established and recognised source, from which permutations and projections for numerous fields of research are feasible.

Poll Tax records from 1694-8 survive for eleven greater Edinburgh parishes, these being the ten quoad sacra parishes within the burgh of Edinburgh, with the eleventh being for the then suburban parish of St Cuthbert's as a whole.³ Among the publications that have already derived information from these Poll Tax returns, the work by Dingwall is undoubtedly the most recent and useful. In their reviews however Vasey expresses reservations about the geographical representation, and Tyson notes the findings are 'massively offset by missing adults', (only 5,611 Poll Tax households to 8,708 Hearth Tax households in the same period), which may have led to his

¹ N.A.S. ref: TE29/box 1.

² N.A.S. E69/16/2-3. Greater Edinburgh Hearth Tax lists of 1691.

³ N.A.S. E70/4/1-11. Poll Tax lists for the Greater Edinburgh parishes.

observation that 'there is very little on what is normally thought of as a demographic history'.¹ Nevertheless, Dingwall's detailed presentation of the numerous social, economic and demographic factors that can be gleaned from Poll Tax returns, is sufficiently comprehensive to deem any duplication of her research for the objectives of this project, to be unnecessary; especially as a cursory inspection of the Poll Tax returns shows that there is no clear distinction between those who are the landlords, the main tenants, or those who may be subtenants or other ordinary folk. Dingwall considers that West Kirk (St Cuthbert's parish) 'was a sprawling, semi-rural area almost completely surrounding inner Edinburgh, its population comprising mainly small tenant farmers, weavers and manual workers, together with several landed gentry estates'. Her work also contains a variety of statistics for West Kirk in the 1690s. Two of the foremost that are significant for this project show:

- 1). A West Kirk population of 2,673 in 1,040 households, showing in percentages: 7.8 gentry, 0.9 professional, 2.5 merchants, 16.9 craft and manufacturing, with 72.0 per cent being other indwellers.
- 2). 'Classification of occupations by type of activity' in West Kirk shows: 5.6 gentry, 0.8 professional, 0.7 merchants, 0.8 military and civic officials, 19.1 manufacturers, 30 servants, 43.4 manual, farming and sea.²

An encouraging factor present in the foregoing study for West Kirk parish is the population and household figures, which seem to compare quite favourably with the population and potential household figures derived, in a far less sophisticated way from the scant amount of evidence that is contained in the c.1635 examination rolls for the same parish, which gave a population of 2,421 in 791 households. These figures suggest that between 1635 and 1694 there was a 10.41 per cent increase in the population, and a 31.48 per cent increase in the number of households in St Cuthbert's or West Kirk. The 10.4 per cent population increase over this 59 year period cannot be considered at all unusual. But for Edinburgh's main suburb it is well below the 14.8 per cent national population increase for the period, which can be estimated from the Population Trends graph reproduced as fig iii. As the figure for 1694 is based upon Poll Tax payers, the

¹ P. Vasey, reviewing Dingwall's 'Late 17th Century Edinburgh' in *Scottish Archives*, 3 (1997), 112, also reviewed by R. E. Tyson, in *Scottish Economic and Social History* (1995), vol 15. 109-110.

² Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh*, 27, 56, 142, and 260.

smaller household size and population increase indicated may therefore be hiding an extra populace who were either unwilling or unable to pay the tax.

With regard to the number of households, Makey estimates that the population of inner Edinburgh in the mid seventeenth century 'was well above 20,000',¹ and by the 1690s the population is considered to have grown to between 27,000 and 30,000.² Therefore the substantial 31.48 per cent increase in the number of households in the parish of St Cuthbert's between the figures derived from the c.1635 examination roll, and those from the 1694 Poll Tax, could be due to either one of two very important factors, or possibly a combination of both:

- a). An increase in living standards over the period: - or that:
- b). c.1635 there may in fact have been a larger number of single occupancy households, but this was hard to discern from an examination roll intended for other purposes.

With regard to endeavouring to ascertain who the proprietors, main tenants and others are from the two social groupings for West Kirk parish outlined from Dingwall's work above, one can only generalise by saying that the landlords or proprietors are more likely to be present among the 28 per cent designed as gentry, professionals, merchants and craftsmen listed in the first group, than among the remaining 72 per cent who are listed as the other 'indwellers'. Likewise, in the 'Classification by occupations and type of activity', the 73.4 per cent who she shows are either servants, manual workers, in farming or at sea, are more likely to be the subtenants and other ordinary folk residing in the rural parts of West Kirk, whereas the remaining 26.6 per cent whose vocations are listed as being above or different from these callings, are more likely to include a large proportion of landlords and their main tenants, most of whom may well be residing within those parts of West Kirk parish that are urban. The wealth of data contained in the Poll Tax returns can unquestionably enhance any investigation of the period, but for the particular requirements of this project, seventeenth century sources still need to be discovered for the West Kirk area, which might distinguish between the

¹ W. Makey, 'Edinburgh in the mid seventeenth century', in M. Lynch, ed., *The early modern town in Scotland* (London 1987). 192-218.

² Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh*. 20.

landlords, tenants, and others. In pursuance of this quest a map derived from the Edinburgh Town Council minutes of the early 1690s, indicates that to the north-west of the burgh a part of the quoad sacra parish of Tolbooth Kirk, a part of the High Street leading to The Spur, and all of The Spur and the Castle itself, are within West Kirk-St Cuthbert's parish.¹ This seemed possible, as to this day St Cuthbert's parish church nestles below the castle at the western edge of what was the Nor' Loch marsh.

A map by Lynch used by Edinburgh City Archives, outlining the burgh's local tax quarters or districts in the mid seventeenth century,² shows that the North-west North 1 tax quarter, is virtually identical to the Town Council Minutes map, by indicating that a part of West Kirk parish is within the burgh.³ Should these maps be reliable, then the annuity or stent rolls that exist for 1635 for this North-west North 1 district, could be an elusive listing of the proprietors and their tenants, as these were possibly the only persons who were likely to have paid the taxes in this quarter. Then by comparing the names on the available rolls of 1635, with those already collated from the c.1635 examination roll for St Cuthbert's/West Kirk, the possibility emerges of being able to ascertain what the ratio of proprietors to tenants and other ordinary folk was, in this part of greater Edinburgh during the mid-1630s.

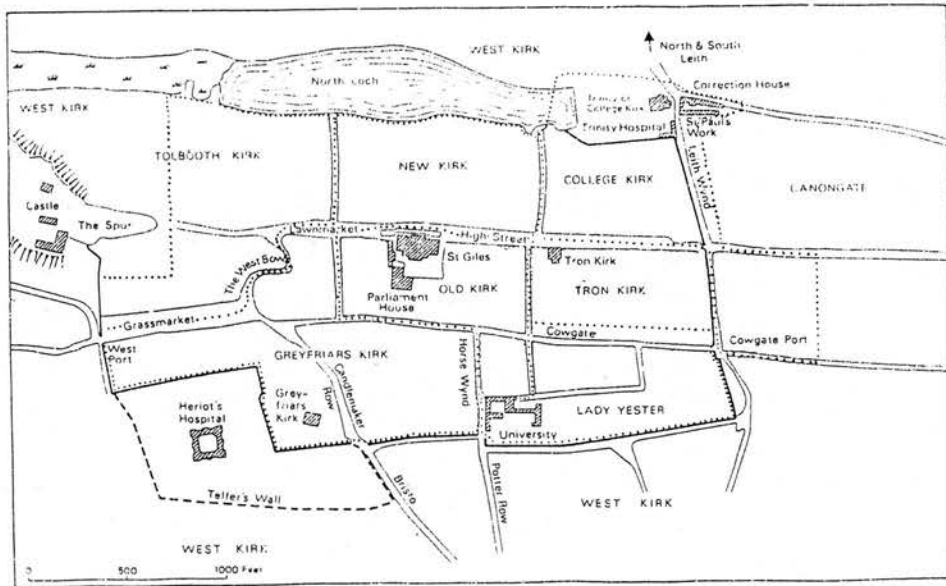
Although annuity rolls are more comprehensive than those primarily concerned with just the stent payers, it is unclear from Edinburgh City Archive's rolls for the early to mid seventeenth century whether they are stent or annuity. Nevertheless, the figures shown on Lynch's map for the mid seventeenth-century tax quarters also show that 280 households and 956 examinable persons resided in the North-west North 1 district in that period. As 791 households were estimated from the c.1635 examination roll for West Kirk or St Cuthbert's, then it looks possible that 280 of these households may have been in a part of the parish that was within the burgh of Edinburgh by the mid seventeenth century. The c.1635 St Cuthbert's examination roll lists a total of 2,421

¹ Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh*,. 14.

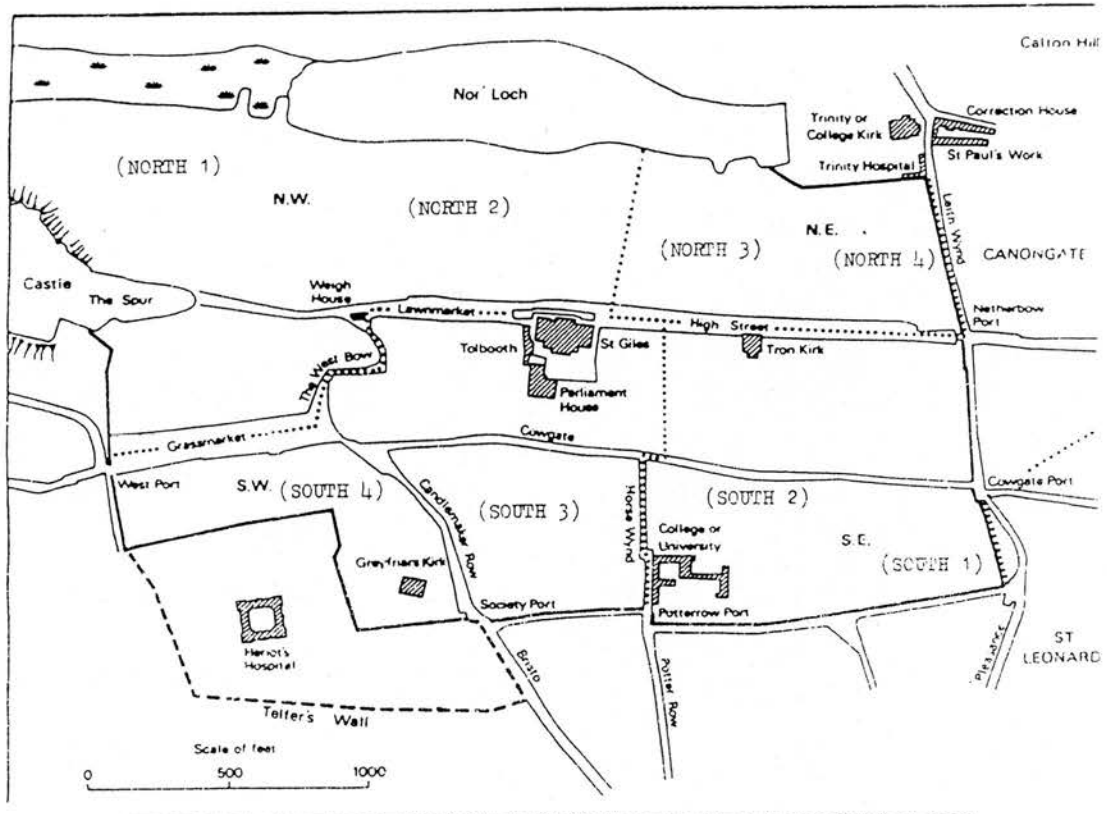
² M. Lynch, 'Edinburgh in the age of James VI: the birth of a new town' *Edinburgh History Magazine*, I, (Summer 1989), 13.

³ Date not cited, but possibly from SL35/1/7, Stent Rolls for 1649-50 in E.C.A.

MAP FROM EDINBURGH TOWN COUNCIL MINUTES, 1690s.
Dingwall, Late Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh, 14.



MID SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CESS & STENT DISTRICTS
Edinburgh City Archives



Two maps indicating the area around Edinburgh Castle and The Spur are in West Kirk (St Cuthberts) parish, and in N.W. (North 1) tax district

persons. That 956 of them may also have resided within the same North-west quarter of the burgh of Edinburgh, by the mid seventeenth century, is also possible.

A study of the available rolls for the same quarter in 1635, presents a different picture. Having deducted the potential duplication of proprietors, this study shows that in 1635 a total of 431 possessors paid the tax, of whom 51 were listed as proprietors and 380 the main tenants. Commercial property is not identifiable.¹ It appears therefore that these 431 tax payers could be interpreted as being householders. But this conflicts with the figures on Lynch's mid seventeenth-century map for the same area, which shows that there were only 280 households, but 956 examinable persons at that time, an improbable 35 per cent reduction in the number of households, in around fifteen years. At this point one can only imagine that the term 'examinable persons' applied to all who were capable of paying the tax, irrespective of whether the house or tenement they occupied was shared, commercial or otherwise.

Fortunately, occupations are evident for most of the persons listed in the North-west North 1 quarter of the available 1635 tax roll, and as expected, many of the tax payers are indeed of the aristocracy, the professional classes, and, indicated by the amount of tax they pay, a number are evidently wealthy merchants. Also recorded as paying the tax, usually at a lower level, are: 11 skinnners, 6 stablers, 4 workmen, 3 buttermen, 3 weavers, 2 coopers, 2 gardeners, and one each: candlemaker, cordiner, creellman, oxen driver, poultryman, slater and a spongemaker.

These occupations are not often represented in similar listings for rural areas, which usually note the landowner and his main tenants only. Also noted in Edinburgh's North-west North 1 quarter in 1635 are: 23 widows, 12 tailors, 6 maltmen, 5 masons, 4 smiths and 3 wrights, whose vocations in an urban or suburban location were less likely to preclude them from being tenants. This wide variety of occupations, representing different social groups, suggests that some of these taxes were also raised from the workplaces of those examined as eligible in each of the burgh's quarters, and not just from residential households. Also present on these tax rolls are many

¹ The difficulties involved in compiling these figures can also be seen in C. B. Boog Watson's 'List of owners of property in Edinburgh, 1635' in *BOEC*, XIII (1924), 93-145, which demonstrates that owners can be listed as often as the number of properties they own.

undesigned persons and persons whose occupations are not mentioned. This factor, and the number listed appearing to exceed those who are the proprietors, or their main tenants, dictates that the distinction between tenant and others is not clear. Difficult to define is whether those who may have been taxed at unspecified work places were categorised as proprietors, or their main tenants? - and their employees as other indwellers?

In anticipation of possibly resolving the main question of who the tenants were, and who the subtenants and others were, in Edinburgh's North-west North 1 tax area which appears to have been in West Kirk parish, the names on the available 1635 annuity or stent rolls for the area have been compared with those listed in the c.1635 examination roll for West Kirk. But following protracted and detailed comparisons, sadly it was found that the tax roll names do not coincide with those listed in the examination rolls of the same date. Therefore it very much looks as if the map that was derived from the Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, which shows that the castle and part of the burgh of Edinburgh is in West Kirk parish, is simply a geographical anomaly or that the boundaries may have changed between 1635 and 1694. The same area, which is shown in Lynch's map as being Edinburgh's North-west North 1 local tax quarter, would therefore appear to be a western extension of the quoad sacra parish of Tolbooth Kirk. A subsidiary investigation of the 1635 stent and annuity rolls for Tolbooth Kirk may substantiate that there is no overlap with the West Kirk examination rolls of that date, but at this point the intention to identify seventeenth-century sources indicating the ratio of tenants to others among those who resided in the area in and around Edinburgh castle, cannot be achieved. At this juncture it should also be acknowledged that Dingwall does clearly emphasise in the notes to this map that the 'Boundaries are as described in the Town Council minutes which are occasionally confusing as to the precise areas involved'.

EDINBURGH'S SUB-PARISH AND LOCAL TAX BOUNDARIES.

The growing familiarity with the Edinburgh sources can however still be utilised for this part of the overall project, which is to try and identify comprehensive lists of inhabitants pertaining to an urban or suburban location. A source for obvious

consideration is the population figures for Edinburgh's quoad sacra parish of Tolbooth, which can be gleaned from the Poll Tax returns. These Tolbooth Poll Tax figures may then be used in conjunction with those already analysed in the preceding studies, which are estimated to have involved at least half of the inhabitants of that sub parish. In this respect it is anticipated that the number of persons paying the local annuity tax in Tolbooth, or in the other sub-parishes c.1694, could be deducted from the number paying the Poll Tax, thereby providing an idea of what the ratio of landlords and tenants to others may have been at that time. Should this strategy prove productive, then extrapolations back to the mid seventeenth century or forward to the mid eighteenth century could be considered. Having however to rely on extrapolations does not sit easily, and would always appear to be a strategy of last resort, especially as some stent and annuity tax rolls for these periods survive for the burgh of Edinburgh. Therefore the next objective is to try and reconcile the boundaries of the tax districts within the burgh, with those of Edinburgh sub or quoad sacra parishes, for which some population figures exist.

Comparing Lynch's local burgh tax map for Edinburgh's North-West North 2 quarter with the parish map derived from the Town Council minutes shows that this district incorporates the eastern half of Tolbooth parish. However, the eastern boundary of this tax district appears to extend well into New Kirk parish, finishing just beyond the north-east corner of St Giles church. On the other hand, in the Town Council's map, the eastern boundary of Tolbooth parish finishes in the middle of the Lawnmarket, well to the north-west of St Giles church. This is an anomaly which indicates that any figures constructed from the tax rolls for Tolbooth parish, or New Kirk parish as a whole, could be unreliable and should only be produced as approximations.

Studying these two maps further, it would seem that the only parish whose boundaries are near to coinciding with those of the local annuity and stent tax districts is College Kirk with tax district North-East North 4. But even here the east side of Leith Wynd, St Paul's Work, and the Correction House, would for the burgh's tax purposes appear to be outwith College Kirk parish, and within Canongate parish, whereas the map derived from the Town Council minutes clearly indicates that these locations are

within College Kirk.¹

The National Library map room's nearest reliable source is probably Johnston's Ecclesiastical boundary map of 1888,² which coincides in many respects with the map derived from the Town Council minutes. These maps tend to confirm that the boundaries of the stent and annuity districts shown on Lynch's map for the mid seventeenth century are unfortunately a separate entity, differing in most instances from the boundaries of Edinburgh's inner parishes. Therefore the map of stent and annuity districts has only a limited use, in two or three districts, for facilitating comparable studies with the quoad sacra parishes within the burgh, or even with St Cuthbert's parish outwith the burgh.

A map dated c.1690, showing the approximate boundaries of the quoad sacra parishes within Edinburgh, appears in Houston's study of the burgh for the period from 1660-1760,³ but Houston's map differs again from the Town Council minutes map, and from Lynch's map of the mid seventeenth-century stent and annuity districts. In Houston's map the College Kirk eastern boundary not only extends well beyond Leith Wynd, it is also shown in the south-east as encompassing an area on the south side of the High Street. The boundary of Tolbooth parish is also given as being further west than that outlined by the Town Council, although most of the Spur and all of the Castle are still shown by Houston as being outwith the burgh. Houston's map also indicates that the West Port and at least a third of the Grassmarket are situated outwith the burgh, which with Heriot's Hospital, Bristo, and Potterrow, are all indicated as being within St Cuthbert's or West Kirk parish. The conclusions drawn from Houston's findings are that the sub-parish boundaries, and the boundaries that had been used for the stent and annuity collection districts, may well have changed since the formulation of the data

¹ Professor Lynch explained that the 1635 map was based upon splitting each of the burgh's four old quarters into three. But the intrusion of two extra sub parishes into the equation gives rise to the anomalies detected for Tolbooth parish. Also, with regard to College Kirk, the old N. E. quarter extended down the southern side of the Canongate as well as both sides of Leith Wynd. - interview & letter, April 2003.

² Copy in N.L.S. map room.

³ R. A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh 1660-1760*. (Oxford, 1994). 110.

upon which Dingwall and Lynch had based their maps.

The foregoing investigations indicate that because of the confusion about the boundaries of Edinburgh's sub-parishes in the seventeenth century, a study of the annuity or stent rolls for the burgh as a whole might suffice, for making the required comparisons with the population figures provided by the Poll Tax and other sources. The Poll Tax figures for the whole of Edinburgh have already been collated, but it is evident that a complete collation of the annuity and stent rolls, for at least two comparable periods for a burgh with a population of 27,000 to 30,000 in the 1690s,¹ would involve an amount of time which is currently not available for this project. Also, the discovery that the stent and annuity rolls for College Kirk area are not extant until the 1760s, signified that a study based upon the seventeenth-century rolls for the burgh as a whole, had to be suspended. Nevertheless, attempts to resolve the ongoing queries pertaining to the boundaries of the sub-parishes within greater Edinburgh in the seventeenth century, are not completely discarded, as a study of some of these individual sub or quoad sacra parishes, may still have some potential.

ST CUTHBERT'S EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STUDY MATERIAL.

With regard to identifying eighteenth-century records on local population figures for St Cuthbert's or West Kirk, which may facilitate comparisons with some of the seventeenth-century material already located for that parish, and the adjoining burgh of Edinburgh, fortunately an examination roll containing a degree of potential was once again present among the surviving kirk session records for St Cuthbert's or West Kirk parish.

The eighteenth-century examination rolls for St Cuthberts or West Kirk are currently listed in the N. A. S. repertory books for the established Kirk Session Records, as covering the years from 1729 to 1730,² but following a detailed study incorporating a database analysis of these rolls, it is evident that they in fact apply to

¹ Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh*, 20.

² N. A. S. CH2/718/212. St. Cuthberts Kirk Session Records, examination roll 1729-1730.

most of the decade up to and preceding the year 1750.¹ Within these examination rolls each compilation, or survey, was found to be spread over at least two years, with the listings for the years 1749 and 1750 identified as being the most complete for this project. This shows that the amount of information contained within the 1749-50 West Kirk examination rolls is, to all intents, identical to that contained in the c.1635 rolls for the same parish. With the exception that the eighteenth-century handwriting is usually much easier to follow, the 1749-50 listings appear to be arranged with the same consecutive and undelineated households, as that represented in c.1635; with each potential or assumed household grouping being comprised of only those, males and females, who would appear to be old enough to be communicants. This is deduced by the notable absence of large family groupings of the same surname, which would invariably consist of younger children.

The database assisted study shows that altogether 6,024 names are present on the 1749-1750 West Kirk or St Cuthbert's examination rolls, this being a 148.8 per cent increase in the 115 years since the names of 2,421 persons were gleaned from the similar c.1635 examination rolls for that parish. It was also useful to note that as an aid for students carrying out future research using church records, the examination rolls for 1749-1750 also list some of the non-conformists, such as Episcopalians, together with a number of inhabitants who were currently undergoing censure or other forms of church discipline.

Webster's survey of 1755 gives the total number of inhabitants of St Cuthberts or West Kirk parish as 12,168,² which when compared with the 6,024 named on the 1749-1750 examination roll, indicates initially that just over half of these inhabitants could have been children and young persons under communion age. Also relevant is where the *O.S.A.* suggests that there was likely to have been quite a significant population increase in the five to six years between the compilation of the examination roll, and Webster's survey. The *O.S.A.* demonstrates that the number of inhabitants of

¹ Nowhere was there any evidence of these rolls existing for the years 1729-1730, a matter upon which the N. A. S. has yet to comment.

² Dr Alexander Webster, an Edinburgh minister, his St Cuthberts population figures in *O. S. A.* vol II, 4.

St Cuthbert's or West Kirk parish, had grown to a massive 32,947 in the 36 years between Webster's survey of 1755 and the surveys by the ministers in 1791,¹ indicating that the population of St Cuthbert's was increasing by 13.88 per cent every five years. Allowing that the number of 6,024 examinable persons in St Cuthbert's in 1749-1750 had increased by 13.88 per cent in the five to six years prior to Webster's survey, then had an examination roll been compiled in 1755, the number of communion age could have grown from 6,024 to around 6,860. When deducted from Webster's figure of 12,168 souls residing in the parish in that year, this suggests that 43.6 per cent were likely to be children, or young persons under communion age. This seemingly logical method of reconciling the 1749-1750 examination roll figures, with the total number of inhabitants produced by Webster for the same parish, varies substantially from Webster's own method of estimating what proportion would have been children. As explained in Flinn,² Webster is given as basing most of his calculations upon the examination rolls, which may well have included the aforementioned and hitherto utilised roll for St Cuthbert's. To find the proportion of children or young persons not examined, Webster uses the formula:

30, plus minimum age examined, divided by 31, multiply by number on roll.

As Webster is allowing for persons examined as young as 8, his formula applied for St Cuthbert's is; $30+8 / 31 \times 6,860 = 8,409$ inhabitants, and, even allowing for the possibility that all aged under 16 years may not have been examined, Webster's formula produces; $30+16 / 31 \times 6,860 = 10,179$ inhabitants, which is still 1,989 short of Webster's published estimate of 12,168 inhabitants in 1755.³ In this instance either Webster's formula for estimating the number of children does not hold up, or a further examination subsequent to that of 1749-50 had, at the very least, resulted in an extremely questionable 19.54 per cent increase in the population in just 5 to 6 years.

¹ *O. S. A.* vol II, 5.

² Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 62-63, 252.

³ Perhaps distinctions should be made between those who took communion as young as 8 and those over, a more likely, 15 years. Age of first communion varied. See Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, 90-91.

A more likely scenario is that a similar percentage of the population was omitted from the 1749-50 examinations, and the minister simply rounded-up or estimated the figures for 1755. This explanation may well be supported by Mitchison, who gives examples of Webster's formula for estimating the number of unexaminable children within a parish,¹ but does not replace it, no doubt because the ministers are submitting data for 1755 based upon widely differing concepts of the age at which a person becomes examinable. Her observations are centred more on how unreliable Webster's figures are compared to those produced by Wrigley & Schofield for England, and she cites many instances of where Webster has based his findings on what are cursory estimates provided by the ministers. Mitchison is however at pains to emphasise that, due to the lack of similar church records for Scotland, any sharp contrasts which have been drawn between the demographic regimes of the two countries should be abandoned.

Therefore as high as 20 per cent or 2,000 of St Cuthbert's inhabitants seem to have been missing from the 1749-50 examination rolls, such a large number cannot be easily explained away as being in the poor house, on military service, or the like. That so many may have been unaccounted for, harks back to Dingwall's observation that a third of the population of Edinburgh is missing from the Poll Tax rolls of the 1690s. A question that now arises is why in an urban and suburban location were so many potentially ordinary folk unaccounted for? It is fully understood that with regard to the Poll Tax, there does not appear to be evidence of substantial and significant listings of those who refused to pay, or who simply did not have the means to pay. Therefore a lack of means, combined with an unknown degree of avoidance and evasion, goes a long way towards explaining why a third of Edinburgh's inhabitants may have been missing from the Poll Tax listings. But economic factors alone cannot explain why, even after a generous allowance for the child population has been made, a fifth of the inhabitants of St Cuthbert's parish still appear to have been missing from the 1749-50 examination rolls. Nonconformity was a growing factor by the mid eighteenth century, but a further question is: are most of the unexamined in the same economic straits, and

¹ R. Mitchison, 'Webster Revisited: A re-examination of the 1755 'census' of Scotland, in T. M. Devine (ed), *Improvement and Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1989), 67, 74.

social strata, as those who were unable to pay the Poll Tax? If so, how and where were these folk, who were evidently deemed untaxable and unexaminable, likely to have been residing?

Lists of the main heritors in St Cuthbert's or West Kirk parish are available for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but as difficulty again arose in trying to identify a comprehensive listing of the main tenants in St Cuthbert's, the possibility is examined of utilising figures for just a part of that parish, from which an acceptable amount of information could be derived. The boundaries of the 1752 stent and annuity taxation districts are evidently unchanged from those shown in Lynch's map for the mid seventeenth century, and again coincide with the Town Council's map in indicating that the North-west North 1 area, around the Castle, is within St Cuthbert's. Therefore a further attempt was made to ascertain whether any of the names listed in the tax area are the same as those listed in the St Cuthbert's examination rolls for 1749-1750. From a data-base assisted listing (as detailed in Appendix VII) it was derived that 1,149 are paying taxes on property in the North-west North 1 quarter of Edinburgh in 1752,¹ of whom 160 were shown as proprietors, and 989 as tenants or occupiers paying various sums, which possibly reflects the size of their holding. As in 1635, many of these tenants and occupiers have occupations which suggest that they might be paying the tax for a work place, and in a number of instances in the 1752 listings, the tax for a shop is indeed noted. But the detailed comparison of the names contained in the examination rolls, with those for the period contained in the tax rolls for the quarter around the Castle shows that unfortunately, none of the names, or potential households, appeared to coincide. Once again this suggests that this particular stent and annuity district is likely to be no more than a western extension, of the Edinburgh sub-parish of Tolbooth. The problems of identifying the ratio of proprietors, tenants, and or other ordinary folk, in even an acceptable part of St Cuthbert's parish, prompted serious consideration of having to re-direct the urban or suburban section of the overall project. Fortunately however the presence in the *O.S.A.* of some population figures for the inhabitants of Edinburgh for the years 1678 and 1722, gave impetus to bringing the urban part of the

¹ E. C. A. Ref: SL35/2/1 Stent Rolls 1752.

project back on course. These surveys compiled by the ministers of the time had hitherto gone un-noticed, simply because most of the local population figures given in the *O.S.A.* for the 1790s, refer back only to 1755 and Webster's survey, for the purpose of making comparisons. The presence of these earlier population figures for Edinburgh in the *O.S.A.* was therefore not only a pleasant surprise, but their crucial importance was immediately recognised, as in both surveys the populations of the respective sub-parishes are specified.

EDINBURGH'S SUB-PARISHES, AS POPULATION STUDY AREAS.

The *O.S.A.* for Edinburgh shows the population of Tolbooth parish in 1791 as 500 families totalling 2,311 persons.¹ The foregoing 1752 stent and annuity roll study for just west Tolbooth parish (i.e. North-west, north 1. tax district), produced 1,149 tax paying occupiers, many of whom must be heads of families. Therefore the *O. S. A.* figure of 2,311 inhabitants for the whole of Tolbooth parish, thirty-nine years later, seems very low. The *O.S.A.* also notes that the Rev. Dr Blair enumerated Edinburgh's families in 1722, with Tolbooth parish given as containing: 701 families and 2,418 examinable persons, to which should be added '...the usual proportion of one fourth of the examinable persons for children',² indicating that the population of Tolbooth parish in 1722 was around 3,022 souls. By comparing the size of Tolbooth's total population figures of 3,022 in 1722 and 2,311 in 1791, with the 1,149 tax payers on the 1752 stent and annuity roll for just west Tolbooth, then the 1752 figure is clearly seen as representing the number of heads of households residing in west Tolbooth parish at that time. Given that of these 1,149 west Tolbooth tax payers 160 were proprietors and 989 tenants to some degree, then at last we have 13.9 per cent proprietors to 86.1 per cent tenants and others, or, a ratio of one urban proprietor to just over every seven urban tenants and other ordinary folk.

This potential breakthrough for the study of an urban area is further enhanced by the *O.S.A.*: 'By a paper in the possession of the Session Clerk of Edinburgh',

¹ The Tolbooth minister's figures in *O. S. A.* vol. II. 5.

² Rev. Dr Blair in *O. S. A.* vol II. 2-3.

entitled, 'A list of the haill possessors (of houses) in the different parishes', the number of families in the year 1678 appears as follows: - listing 3,333 families for the whole burgh (including 513 families for N.W. or Tolbooth parish), - the *O.S.A.* continues:

The old town of Edinburgh at that time consisted of the above six parishes only (Tolbooth, High Church, College, Greyfriars, Old Church, and Tron), consequently the preceding list contained every family then living on what was properly to be called the City of Edinburgh. On the supposition that there were 6 individuals in each family, the total number of souls would amount to 19,998.¹

The total number of souls in Tolbooth parish could therefore amount to $513 \times 6 = 3,078$ inhabitants in 1678. But it is questionable that we should accept a minister in 1791 as being an authority on an average household or family size of six in 1678, as the subsequent studies will show. A multiplier of 4.7 persons per family exemplified by Flinn for southern and eastern Scotland c.1688,² does appear more realistic, i.e. $513 \times 4.7 = 2,411$ potential inhabitants of Tolbooth parish in 1678. With the preceding study of the western tax district of Tolbooth parish showing there were 431 occupiers or heads of households in the available tax rolls of 1635, the foregoing population figures for 1678 may well facilitate extrapolations back to that year.

By comparing chronologically the burgh's local tax rolls with the population surveys by the ministers, the Poll Tax, and Webster, for Edinburgh's quoad sacra parishes in 1678, 1694, 1722, 1755, and 1791, there are few if any direct references to the substantial number of unaccounted for subtenants and others, which are an elusive feature of rural surveys. The variety and sheer number of humbler occupations, present in the stent and annuity rolls in particular, tend to verify that the households of all social groups are included, at least in the listings for the local taxation. The possible exceptions are where servants, apprentices, or visitors reside within a family, or within hospitals for the sick or poor. Some figures do indeed survive for the latter, but these come nowhere near to explaining why 20 per cent of the inhabitants of a parish or tax district appear to have been untaxable, and certainly do not account for that third of the

¹ 'A list of haill the possessors (of houses) in the different parishes (of Edinburgh)'. in *O. S. A.* vol II. 1-2.

² Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 196.

population deemed missing from the Poll Tax returns by Dingwall.

The search for sources for an urban area which could provide information about the ratio of proprietors to subtenants and other ordinary folk, seemed at last to be coming to some fruition. To utilise fully the population figures for Edinburgh's sub-parishes in conjunction with the stent and annuity rolls, the conclusions would be more credible if the information were derived from more than just the figures for Tolbooth parish. This does however bring to the fore again the question of the bounds of Edinburgh's sub or quoad sacra parishes, and exactly how many inner-parishes there were, especially for our period of interest, which currently ranges from the contents of a stent and annuity roll in 1635, through to population listings for 1791. Arnot, in his *History of Edinburgh*, states that by 1641 the number of sub or quoad sacra parishes within Edinburgh was six;¹ reading clockwise from the north west, these are:

Tolbooth.	North or New Church. ²	College Kirk.
Old Greyfriars.	Old Church.	Tron.

1678: The population listing of 1678 noted in the *O.S.A.* as being with the Session Clerk of Edinburgh, still lists six inner parishes, but now refers to High Church instead of North or New Church.

1694: The Poll Tax returns list seven inner parishes; Tolbooth, College, Tron, Old Church, and Greyfriars survive. Lady Yester appears as a possible southern extension to Tron parish, with the name High Church once again dropped in favour of New Church.

1722: The Rev. Dr Blair's survey now lists nine inner parishes; Tolbooth, New Church, College, Tron, Lady Yester, and Old Church survive. Haddo's Hole or Little Church appears and Greyfriars is divided into East and New Greyfriars.

1755: In the O. S. A. Webster's survey simply mentions the burgh as a whole.

¹ Hugo Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh 1816), 156-59.

² M. Lynch thinks that this was because the Norr or New Church drawn on Rothiemay's map at the head of the High Street where the Tolbooth now is, was never built, and that the re-adopted New Church of 1694 is a different 'New Church' subdivision of St. Giles. - Interview & letter (April, 2003).

1791: The O. S. A. population survey still lists the nine inner parishes noted by Dr Blair in 1722, although the New Church is changed yet again to High Church, and Little Church is preferred over Haddo's Hole.

A minor observation concerning the listing for 1791 in particular, is that the change of names here could be related to the changing nomenclature reflecting the cultural and physical changes in Edinburgh, brought about by factors ranging from the Enlightenment, the New Town, and perhaps a degree of Anglicisation.

Prior to locating data for Edinburgh's inner parishes which could be additional, and complement that already identified for Tolbooth parish, it was essential that further comparisons were made between the two maps previously utilised for the inner burgh. These were the 1690s map of the quoad-sacra parishes, compiled from the Town Council minutes, and Lynch's tax district compilation for the mid seventeenth century - especially as the latter shows the number of households and examinable persons in each tax district at that time. These undated c.1650 figures by Lynch are useful, as it would be very time-consuming to collate the number of households and examinable persons for the burgh as a whole, in comparable periods. Therefore working from the premise that the boundaries shown on the Town Council and Lynch's maps possess a degree of reliability, the immediate objective is to identify at least two or three of the seven inner-parishes which existed by the 1690s, where tax and ecclesiastical boundaries look as if they are likely to coincide.

Reading once again in clockwise order from the north-west, the foregoing maps indicate that with regard to the three quoad sacra parishes of Tolbooth, New Kirk (or High Church) and College Kirk, although the boundaries between New Kirk and its western and eastern neighbour may not conform with the tax districts, the overall boundary surrounding these three parishes is uniform, indicating that these three sub-parishes can be used jointly as one study area. A minor exception is the boundary east of College Kirk, where Dingwall's map shows the whole of Leith Wynd is within College Kirk, whereas Lynch's tax map shows the east side of Leith Wynd is with the parish and burgh of the Canongate. As to Tron parish, it is not clear as to which parish

had jurisdiction over a large area to the north-east of the Cowgate Port. The tax district map indicates that a triangular part of this area is within the Tron parish tax district,¹ with the remainder in Canongate, whereas the Town Council's map shows this as a large square of land adjoining Tron, with connections to Lady Yester at Cowgate Port and with College Kirk parish in the north-west. Lady Yester parish appears to have been a later addition derived from a southern extension of Tron parish.

Lady Yester parish is not mentioned in the 1678 survey, but is in the 1694 Poll Tax returns. The complications in Lady Yester are that a large part of Old Kirk parish to the north of the University is included in the Lady Yester tax district, and the north side of the Cowgate, which is shown on the Town Council's map as being within Lady Yester parish, is shown on the Tax map as being a part of Tron parish. With regard to Greyfriars, it is not clear which tax district the area to the east of West Bow is in: Old Kirk, or Greyfriars. Combining the Greyfriars and Old Kirk tax figures was considered, but Old Kirk's uncertain boundaries with Tron, and the more recently formed Lady Yester parish, did not facilitate this. Neither did the further division of Greyfriars by 1722, into the sub-parishes of New and East Greyfriars.

Therefore the additional examination of the Town Council's and Lynch's maps, has indicated that a combined study of Edinburgh's three northern quoad-sacra parishes of Tolbooth, New Kirk, and College Kirk, is more likely to be of use for this project.

As a proviso to the survey of examinable persons taken by the Rev. Dr Blair in 1722, it is stated that there should be added 'the usual one fourth of the examinable persons for children'.² Applying this formula to the other totals of examinable persons listed in the following collation of sources for Edinburgh's three northern quoad-sacra parishes, then the numbers of inhabitants in our period are included as follows:

¹ Lynch states this is in old NW3 tax district and contains where the 'creeping parliament' of 1571 was held outside Edinburgh's walls but within its bounds, and that his map should have shown both sides of Leith Wynd within College Kirk parish. - Interview & letter (April, 2003).

² *O. S. A.* vol II. 2-3.

Three parishes =	Tolbooth.	New Kirk.	College.	
Two tax districts =	NW	NE		Total.
Tax payers 1635: ¹	472.	362.	=	834.
- inc landlords/proprietors:	86.	77.	=	163.
Tax payers 1649-1650. ²	505.	436.	=	941.
- inc. landlords/proprietors:	95.	107.	=	202.
Mid 17century Tax roll. ³				
households:	520.	594.	=	1,114.
examinable:	1,938.	2,035.	=	3,973.
+ 1/4 for children:	2,422.	2,543.	=	4,965.
1678 minister's roll? ⁴				
families:	513.	389.	470. =	1,372.
x 6 persons:	3,078.	2,388.	2,820. =	8,286.
x 4.7 persons (Flinn):	2,411.	1,828.	2,209. =	6,448.
1694 Poll Tax. ⁵				
households:	459.	372.	491. =	1,322.
inhabitants:	2,076.	1,642.	1,849. =	5,567.
landlords/proprietors:	96.	309.	80. =	485.
pre 1722 no date. ⁶				
examinable?:	2,130.	2,222.	2,240. =	6,592.
+ 1/4 for children:	2,662.	2,778.	2,800. =	8,240.
1722 Rev. Dr Blair. ⁷				
families:	701.	581.	876. =	2,158.
examinable:	2,418.	2,447.	2,857. =	7,722.
+ 1/4 for children:	3,023.	3,059.	3,571. =	9,653.
Proprietors: ⁸		317.	269. =	586.
1791 O. S. A. survey.				
families:	500.	476.	662. =	1,638.
inhabitants:	2,311	2,245.	3,659. =	8,215.
Proprietors: ⁹		602.	220. =	822.

¹ E. C. A. Stent Rolls, ref: SL35/1/3. - indicates proprietors, mostly by his or her land.

² E. C. A. Stent Rolls, ref: SL35/1/7. - shows codes; L = landlord, t = tenant.

³ M. Lynch, 'Edinburgh in the age of James VI', *Edinburgh History Magazine*, I (Summer 1989), 12-17.
- but no date is evident for these mid seventeenth-century figures.

⁴ Stated in 1791 to be in the possession of the Session Clerk. O. S. A. vol II. 1-2.

⁵ Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh*, 27, 94-95.

⁶ O. S. A. vol II. 3.

⁷ O. S. A. vol II. 2.

⁸ E. C. A. Stent rolls 1722: ref. SL35/1/40. - for three N.W. districts and three N.E. districts.

⁹ E.C. A. Stent Rolls 1789-90. ref: SL35/2/19.

Of immediate concern in the foregoing population compilation are the differences in the figures derived from the supposedly authoritative sources such as the 1694 Poll Tax and the 1791 *O.S.A.* survey on the one part, and those derived from the stent rolls and the surveys of 1678, 1722, and 1755, on the other part. When we choose to begin looking for comparable population trends for the seventeenth century, scholars such as Flinn concede that before 1755 'there is no source from which it is possible to estimate a total of Scottish population',¹ a view echoed by Whyte, with the qualification that 'estimates have been made by assuming a ratio between the carrying capacity of Scotland and England of around 1:6'.² Wrigley & Schofield's studies for England suggest there was likely to have been only a gradual rise in the population of England, and indeed a slowdown across Europe in the mid seventeenth century.³ From the perspective of Scotland, it is all too apparent that there were likely to have been at least two small dips in this progression; the first following the famine of 1623 and Civil War troubles of the mid seventeenth century, especially in Edinburgh in the plague of 1645; and the second following the bad harvests and further troubles of the 1690s. But the 14 per cent decrease in the population of Edinburgh's aforementioned three northern quoad sacra parishes, in the sixteen years between the 1678 survey and the Poll Tax figures of 1694, is questionable, especially as the Revd. Dr Blair's survey for 1722 indicates a massive 48 per cent population increase over the Poll Tax figures for these same sub-parishes, in just twenty eight years. One cannot however apportion a variation of this size to Poll Tax avoidance or evasion alone. The question which still remains is whether there could have been a substantial proportion of the population in the 1690s who simply did not have the means to pay. Were these folk possibly residing in nooks and crannies in Edinburgh's three northern sub-parishes, or residing in shanties outwith the port? This could be relevant to the previously encountered difficulties in trying to ascertain the composition of the population of St Cuthbert's, which, geographically, surrounds Edinburgh on three sides.

¹ Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 4.

² Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 38.

³ Wrigley & Schofield, *Population History of England*, 207-8.

Scholars of the early modern period such as Laslett,¹ and those who are essentially modernists such as Anderson,² have long recognised that families and households are often seen as coterminous units, although in literal terms, single servants and apprentices, unlike day labourers, are more likely to be residing within a unit referred to as a household. Nevertheless, working from the premise that families and households are likely to be seen as synonymous, that the figures for our urban study area show a steady increase in the number of families or households over the period, is not too untoward. For example there is only a minor reduction of fifty families or households between 1678 and 1694, but this and the fall in population then, again implies that the Poll Tax population figures are not what they should be. That the number of Poll Tax households recorded for our area is also too low, is again reinforced by the Rev. Dr Blair's survey of 1722, where the number of households or families has increased from the 1,322 shown by the Poll Tax, to 2,158. This represents a massive 63 per cent increase in just twenty eight years. With regard to the differences between the Rev. Dr Blair's survey of 1722 and that by the *O. S. A.* for 1791, which reflects that there has been a 24 per cent drop in the number of families, and a 15 per cent drop in the number of inhabitants in our study area; this decline may well be explained by out-migration over these sixty nine years, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, to Edinburgh's New Town parish of St Andrews, which is shown as having acquired a population of 7,206 inhabitants by 1791.³

CONCLUSIONS

This study of Edinburgh's three northern inner parishes concludes by returning to its initial question, which is to try and ascertain, from the sources that have been identified so far, what the ratio may have been between proprietors or main tenants and the other stent-paying indwellers, in the period from c.1635 to c.1790. In this respect a further collation of the foregoing figures, primarily derived from the local tax rolls,

¹ T. P. R. Laslett, *The World we have lost, further explored* (London, 1994). 2.

² M. Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family* (London, 1994). 41.

³ *O. S. A.* vol II. 5.

URBAN TENANTS AND OTHERS

suggests that there are a growing number of what could then be termed 'proprietor occupiers' over the period:

		N.W. quarter.	N.E. quarter.	Totals
1635.	Tax payers:	472.	362.	834.
	Proprietors:	86.	77.	163. = 19.5 per cent, or 1 in 5.
1649-50.	Tax payers:	505.	436.	941.
	Proprietors:	95.	107.	202. = 21.4 per cent, or 1 in 5.
1678.	Tax payers:	449.	403.	852.
	Proprietors:	133.	114.	247. = 29 per cent, or 3 in 10.
1694.	Poll Tax households (in the three sub-parishes):			1,322.
	Proprietors		"	485. = 36.7 per cent, or 3 in 8.
1722.	Dr Blair's families (in the three sub-parishes):			2,158.
	Proprietors paying stent:			586. = 27.2 per cent, or 2 in 7.
1791.	<i>O. S. A.</i> families (in the three sub-parishes):			1,638.
	Proprietors paying stent 1789-90:			822. = 50.2 per cent, or half.

The percentage figures for proprietors worthy of immediate comment among the foregoing, are those for 1694 and for 1791:

1694: Once again the Poll Tax figure goes against the gradual flow, which tends to suggest a steady increase in the percentage of tax paying proprietors. Given that the preceding stages of this study show that a large proportion of the poorer folk do not appear to have been included in the Poll Tax figures, then the high percentage for proprietors for 1694 is no doubt due to the fact that many of the poorer households are simply not listed.

1791: That 50.2 per cent have graduated to becoming proprietor owned, from the 27.2 per cent in 1722, is indeed interesting. The bulk of this increase appears to have occurred in the North West stent district. It is appreciated that by the 1790s much of the North West district may well have become more commercialised, and that this was accompanied by an increase in the number of professionals and wealthy merchants, who simply paid the stent for offices or shops, but resided elsewhere, possibly in the new town. These offices and shops may well have been former dwelling houses, a factor supported by the 24.1 per cent decline in the number of families residing in the three northern inner parishes, between 1722 and 1791.

An objective of this study of an urban area had, as in the previous two chapters, been to try and identify what the ratio may have been between those of tenant rank and above, to the subtenants and others. Or to use the urban context of indweller (as their occupational roles differed in many respects from those of their rural cousins); what the ratio may have been between the proprietors or their main tenants, and the 'other' urban indwellers, taxpaying or otherwise. Numerous studies had already been undertaken on Scotland's main cities, but the parish of St Cuthbert's, which for our study period had the eighth largest population in Scotland and was still growing ahead of many of the provincial burghs, had often been overlooked and was therefore considered an acceptable challenge. Though a wide and complex array of sources for St Cuthbert's such as the examination rolls are readily available, unfortunately no ratio of tenants to subtenants and others was readily identifiable. Nevertheless, the study had brought to the surface two important factors for further consideration: One, should St Cuthbert's be deemed suburban or semi rural in spite of its massive population, simply because it did not at that time possess a substantial middle class? Two, comparing the examination rolls with the minister's population figures for the parish, had indicated that around 20 per cent of those residing there appear to have been deemed unexaminable.

The study of the Edinburgh sub-parishes had demonstrated that although sources abound for the seventeenth century in particular, the boundaries of these sub-parishes and the accompanying tax districts are unclear, to the extent that only two of these districts or quarters were able to provide a suitable continuity of data for the 1630s to 1790s study period. This was however sufficient for showing an increase in proprietor ownership from 19.5 per cent in 1635 to 50.2 per cent in 1791, although the shadow of the unaccounted for, through being untaxable and unexaminable, hangs like a cloud over these findings and is a crucial matter which warrants further discussion in our conclusions.

5. THE SCOTTISH STUDY AREAS COMPARED.

A principal objective of this chapter is to compare analytically the findings of interest outlined in the foregoing three case chapters with the material already existing in other related works of the period, including that in the *O.S.A. Fundamental* for the inhabitants of the study areas were how they were affected by the crucial differences in the geographical, physical, and man-made environments in which they lived.

Chapter 1 of this work reminds us that records compiled to provide uniform national or local information, which can also be utilised to facilitate comparisons between local population listings throughout Scotland, do not survive in sufficient quantity for the seventeenth century in particular, with less material extant for the north-west than for the south-east of the country. Therefore identifying comparable data derived from parts of sources compiled for differing and one-off purposes, involves protracted yet fascinating searching. Ideally the two rural study areas should tell us an average number of inhabitants residing in an average parish or barony. But not until Dr Webster's survey of 1755 could we estimate this average, this being Scotland's population of 1,263,385 divided by 900 parishes¹ = an average of 1,404 persons per parish. Webster gave the population of Auchtergaven in 1755 as 1,677, this being 19.4 per cent above average, and a reasonable comparison numerically with the west coast parish of Tiree, which Webster lists as having 1,509 souls in 1755, or 7.5 per cent above average. With regard to our study areas of St Cuthberts and then Edinburgh, their populations in 1755 were 12,168 and 35,622 (with Canongate) respectively.² These two larger populations in the primarily urban study areas were, from the outset, not expected to detract from the prime objective of comparing the lives of the subtenants and other ordinary folk in their respective environments. But should one like these averages to exclude the large Edinburgh figure, then Auchtergaven and Tiree's populations would be 23 per cent and 10.6 per cent above average respectively.

¹ The exact number of parishes in Scotland has always been subject to the fluctuations with only a minute increase to the 901 shown in the *Detailed list of the Old Parish Registers* (Edinburgh, 1872). Flinn notes there were 903 parishes in 1779, 907 in 1784 and 909 c.1789: Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 59.

² To avoid repetitive and protracted reference noting Dr Webster's figures are reproduced, together with useful comparison, in the volumes of the *O. S. A.*

Scholars and family historians alike have long been aware that comparable seventeenth and eighteenth-century documentation of local population listings in northern and western Scotland, from which one can formulate a study of the inhabitants of a parish or barony there, is virtually non-existent. The reasons for the lack of surviving documentation for this region may possibly be traced back to the absence of established ecclesiastical and secular institutions. Speaking of the highlands of 1688, Hopkins notes that 'many areas simply could not afford the cost of any established church'.¹ The commissariat, sheriff, regality and barony courts, whose higher authorities were the courts in Edinburgh, either were inactive, or did not receive the same support as they were afforded elsewhere in Scotland. In the seventeenth century in particular, agreements and disputes, for which little if any records ever existed, were still settled within the clan system, or between the clans, often by force of arms. Perhaps one notable exception during the seventeenth century was the earls of Argyll, who were expanding the Argyll estates by bringing to a fine art the exploitation of the laws of debt.²

Seventeenth and eighteenth-century documentation for the Church of Scotland parishes and presbyteries in much of the north and west is likewise very sparse. Possibly not until the late eighteenth century did the established church give its support to the activities of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, thereby eventually securing the Church of Scotland's northern and western presbyteries onto a much firmer basis.³ It is quite possible that the lack of support for the established church and the Edinburgh authorities was also aggravated in the north and west by the adherence to Roman Catholicism and Episcopalianism. Many of the local magnates in this region chose to oppose Presbyterianism and central government, and support the political and religious persuasions of the old order in the upheavals of the 1650s, the 1690s, 1715 and 1745.

¹ Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, 12.

² Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, 16.

³ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 178-79, 218.

SCOTTISH STUDY AREAS COMPARED

There is documentation for various periods between 1636 and the 1790s which includes population listings for much of the Argyll estates, ranging from scant lists of tenants to comprehensive lists of inhabitants, from a variety of sources.¹ The originals of these documents could be seen for most of the twentieth century, but at the time of writing access to the Argyll estate papers themselves is sadly no longer available. Nevertheless, the preliminary studies outlined in chapter three above had found that the Argyll estates incorporate a number of parishes, and parts of parishes. Most of the surviving historical material referred to the estate as a whole, and the content of what was identified as possibly pertaining to an individual west coast parish was not comprehensive enough for comparing with the findings derived for the parish of Auchtergaven, or with our study of the urban area in and around Edinburgh. However, as the study in chapter three shows, by perseverance with some of the material for that estate which had been located subsequent to the initial investigations, it was found that some of the documentation for the parish and Island of Tiree does possess the potential for making the required one to one comparison of the parishes.

AUCHTERGAVEN.

These studies have shown that in many respects Auchtergaven, nestling upon the slopes of the 'highland line', can be seen as a microcosm, very much reflecting the main physical and environmental changes that were taking place in Scotland throughout the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. Geographically, Auchtergaven is also partially divided by the same line of mountains running from south-east to north-west, as divides the rest of Scotland from south-east to north-west. To the south and south-east of this 'highland line' there are large areas of good arable soil, to the north-west an area of moor and mountain, with much of this moor found to have been drained and reclaimed by the agricultural improvements which were occurring in general throughout Scotland in the eighteenth century.² The effects of the consolidation of tenancies, migration from the land, and the advent of the industrialisation were likewise all evident in

¹ For 1636 see Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, p 131. - others in S. R. S., O. S. A., and at NAS: DI.23/1/2., and RHP 8826.

² See Chapter 2.

Auchtergaven, even to the founding of the cotton mill and planned village of Stanley in 1784, which represents, in the south-east of the parish, a microcosm of the much larger urban developments and riverside sprawls which were encroaching upon the rural countryside throughout the rest of Scotland, and Britain at that time.

Fortunately acceptable documentation from which one could try and formulate a study of the inhabitants of Auchtergaven was found for both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with understandably more material surviving for the latter years.

AUCHTERGAVEN OCCUPATIONS:

Prior to the beginnings of substantial migration from the land in the late eighteenth century, there is little if any evidence of the majority of the inhabitants of Auchtergaven being involved in anything other than agriculture. With regard to endeavouring to identify their occupations in the seventeenth century, the database study of the 866 souls listed in the c.1650 'Names of the Paroschinaris of Auchtergawin'¹ included no professional occupations such as schoolteacher or writer, although the latter were more inclined to being urban callings. Nevertheless four persons, or a very small 0.46 per cent, were identified as proprietors, local church or estate officials, these being: Laird and Lady (Nairn of) Strathour, the minister, and the Murthly estate's chamberlain. Until Nairn's forfeiture following the '45', their estate appears to have been next largest in the parish after Murthly (Murthly castle, home of the Stewarts of Murthly, was situated in the adjoining parish of Little Dunkeld). The c.1650 Auchtergaven listing shows that eighteen persons, mostly servants aged more than fifteen, were residing with Laird and Lady Strathour, and although it is not specified, one or two of these persons may also have been estate officials. By the eighteenth century any listing of an estate or parish officials would probably have included a schoolmaster and perhaps a church officer. A sheriff's mair (officer) is also very evident among the various court records that involve persons residing within a parish. Likewise by the eighteenth century, the Murthly estate's chamberlain had probably relinquished this late medieval title and changed his designation to 'factor'.

¹ N.A.S. Murthly Castle Muniments, GD121/37/bundle 207/7.

But for the vast majority of the inhabitants of Auchtergaven, evidence of specific occupations is virtually non-existent. The absence of occupations is a feature which seems to be quite common in other surviving seventeenth and eighteenth-century documentation for the parish. Very occasionally in the c.1650 listing, one does encounter the designation 'servitor', but prior to the mid to late nineteenth century this term was virtually synonymous with employee, and applied to all who were employed by another, irrespective of the employer's calling.

That occupations are rarely encountered in seventeenth and eighteenth-century lists of inhabitants and examination rolls and the like, is by no means peculiar to Auchtergaven. By comparison, our preceding studies of the Argyll estates and St Cuthberts have indicated that few, if any, occupations appear in such listings until the late eighteenth century. One uniform source is where the *O.S.A.* quantifies the number of callings within a parish, but does not identify the individuals.¹ Most of the other listings for the period, especially those compiled for rental or taxation purposes, tend to be for the head of the household or main tenant, with the occupations of the subtenants, cottars, and other ordinary folk unaccounted for. As a generalisation it is as if prior to the 1790s, and the very end of our study period, those compiling listings for the predominantly agricultural regions of central, south, and eastern Scotland, were taking it for granted that posterity would know that all who resided in the rural countryside must obviously be either tenants, or subtenants, and that any of the other varied or multi-occupations which they may have had were quite secondary to their role in the hierarchy of occupying a piece of land. An alternative, and perhaps more obvious possibility, is that those compiling such listings knew that many of the subtenantry in particular would have had different occupations but did not record them, as they were not considered to be immediately relevant to the documents' purpose.

Occupations such as weaver, spinner, shepherd, smith, and forester were undoubtedly very much an integral part of rural communities such as Auchtergaven, which were primarily agricultural but also had additional areas more suited to hill grazing and hunting. In the larger farm or kirk towns one would also expect to find that

¹ See occupations for the three study areas derived from *O.S.A.* on pp 141, 152-54, & 162.

some tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, wheelwrights, and masons would have been common throughout the seventeenth century. The work and supervisory role required of the main tenant indicates that very few of them were likely to have secondary occupations; likewise the size of many a subtenant's holding may well have inhibited them from spending too much time with other callings. Cottars on the other hand lived in holdings of less than a few acres or in rows of cottages, known as 'cottowns', located within the farm settlement or its vicinity. Initially the cottar paid for his holding in labour and in kind rather than money rental. A typical set of these cottar-tenant obligations for the middle of our study period exists where Devine cites the 'Cottar' structure in a Fife fermtoun in 1714. The cottars depended on their smallholdings for subsistence, but having fulfilled their obligations to the tenant or his superior, they were also tradesmen, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths and other artisans.¹ But with regard to occupations in Auchtergaven, not until the *O.S.A.* compilations for the year 1795 do we begin to obtain a positive indication of exactly how many may have been involved in specific callings in that parish at any one time. The *O.S.A.* lists 368 to 378 unnamed persons with occupations among a population of 1,784 persons. Although each of these occupations may represent the head of one family, this is not specified. Therefore there is nothing to deny that the following figures could include wives, daughters, or other single ladies, especially among the occupations of weavers and spinners:

Farmers 40, Day-labourers 30, Weavers 182, Cotton-spinners 30 or 40, Millers 4, Shoemakers 14, Taylors 10, Wrights 20, Masons 10, Turners 4, Slaters 3, Hat-dressers 6, Distillers 8, Vintners 3, Coopers 2, Baker 1, Butcher 1.²

These numbers for spinners and weavers may also include those who were then employed by the Stanley Cotton Mill, the grounds for the building of which were acquired in 1784, and the high number of hat-dressers is interesting; therefore these *O.S.A.* figures for occupations cannot be seen as wholly representative of the agricultural community which existed in that parish prior to around c.1785. Even allowing that a number of these tradesmen were employed by Stanley mill, especially

¹ Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 12-13.

² *O.S.A.*, XII, 32.

some of the wrights and masons, there would still appear to be a substantial number of persons of various trades residing, and no doubt earning a living, in what remained of the predominantly agricultural sector of the community.

A factor which is no doubt present in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Auchtergaven and since appears to have died out in that study area, is the significance of multiple-occupations. Multiple-occupations do however still persist to this day, particularly among the remoter communities situated in the north and west of Scotland, such as Tiree, where the distance by land or sea between communities dictates that there is often insufficient demand for a person to specialise in one particular calling. To these communities the occupation of cottar-fisherman was quite common, but how many were also involved part time in other essential trades is likewise, to this day, quite hard to identify. However, evidence that persons were in our study period obliged to be involved in additional occupations is evident in many urban agricultural locations such as Auchtergaven. A clause often encountered in tacks (leases), which date mostly from the eighteenth century, is the stipulation that to retain the possession of their holding, the tenants, or their subtenants or cottars on their behalf, are obliged to assist with work on the estate, especially at times that are crucial for the maintenance of the farming calendar such as ploughing and harvest.¹ In a number of instances the tenants and their servants are also obliged to assist in the upkeep of roads, drains, and dykes. Therefore although a person may have been primarily engaged in a specific trade, or in other non-agricultural occupations, at certain times they were contracted to return to their agricultural roots, and contribute a proportion of their labour to the estate of their landlord, or to the estate of the superior of their holding.

AUCHTERGAVEN DIETS AND HOUSING.

The *O.S.A.* reports that there had been rapid agricultural improvements in Auchtergaven in just ten years, and noted that although good crops of oats, barley and flax, had for long been raised in particular locations in the parish, until 1784 there were

¹ See for example tacks among the estate papers of: Breadalbane GD112, Murthly Castle GD121, Macgregor GD50, and many others kept at the N.A.S.

not more than three planned farms and very few neat farmsteads. But 'at present (1795), there are from 20 to 30 regular farms, from 30 to 200 acres each, and upon all of them neat elegant houses and offices covered with slate. ...Till lately a field of wheat was seldom seen here now several farmers sow 10 to 20 bolls yearly'.¹ The produce of Auchtergaven would seem to be in keeping with Gibson's & Smout's findings that at the beginning of our period the Lowland diet was based almost exclusively on grains.² They also indicate that these rural populations had very little fresh meat and mostly lived off hearth baked oat cakes, with some farm-hands subsisting on bread made of peas and beans. But the cities also had wheaten bread.³ Considering the size of Scotland's cities in the early seventeenth century it can be envisaged that only in the homes of the better-off and in Edinburgh would one have found wheaten bread, and perhaps after some searching, in Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Perth.

The proximity of Auchtergaven to the River Tay suggests that fish may not have been completely unknown to the locals' diet. The Tay salmon fishings alone, that are owned by Murthly and other estates, have become some of the most exclusive in Scotland. By the late twentieth century on many of the beats, in and around Murthly, the rods and fishing rights were only available on a time-share basis. The cost of this sport was possibly rivalled only by the cost of beats on parts of Spey and the Tweed. Salmon netting stations had long been established along the Tay, and no doubt the produce of this river would have supplemented the diets of the local inhabitants. No fishermen are listed in the *O.S.A.* for Auchtergaven, which only borders the Tay for a short distance at Stanley, but they may have been part of the multi-occupational structure. The same survey does however show that in 1792 six persons are indicated as having the full-time occupation of fishermen in the adjoining parish of Little

¹ *O.S.A.* XII, 33.

² A. J. S. Gibson and T. C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 1995), 164-7, 231-3, 342-56.

³ A. Gibson and T. C. Smout, 'Scottish Food and Scottish History, 1500-1800', in R. A. Houston and R. D. Whyte (eds), *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, (Cambridge, 1989), 65.

Dunkeld, where the home castle and offices of the Murthly estates were situated.¹ An inspection of the Registers of the Great Seal will show that throughout Scotland salmon fishing rights were as jealously guarded as were other rights to game,² and although a Murthly estate rental has not yet come to hand which shows salmon being received as rent in kind, another Lowland estate listing of rents paid in kind to the earl of Cassillis for the 1660 crops includes, in addition to the usual farm produce: 78 muirfowl (grouse), 12 black cocks, 12 partridges, 12 wild geese, 6 ducks and 18 salmon.³ That some Lowland tenants in 1660 were paying rent in kind, which sportsmen since the Victorian era would have been proud to have paid vast sums to have bagged, indicates that firstly the game must have been caught with the proprietor's approval,⁴ and secondly that an unspecified amount of this produce must surely therefore have ended up not only on the table of the tenant, but also in the cooking pots of the essential helpers who were his subtenantry or cottars.

Clothing is not seen as having the same relevance in this study of the ordinary folk as housing and nutrition, but how Scots appeared to their European contemporaries is relevant, especially as Victorian interpretations of Highland attire have since become symbols of national identity. Today many expatriates, and Scots, believe that once all who dwelt north of Berwick or Gretna were bedecked in kilts and tartans. But with regard to what in fact was worn by the inhabitants of Auchtergaven throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, P. Hume Brown explains that even in Queen Mary's time the upper strata of Scottish (Lowland) society dressed much the same as those in other countries, while the lower classes differed from the English only in that

¹ *O.S.A.*, vol XII, 411.

² 30 Apr 1556, Charter of Confirmation to Christopher Seton in liferent and Alexander Seton his son and heir, the lands of Torsoppy (Tarsappy) - 'cum cimbicula et piscaria super fluvium de Tay pro salmonum aliorumque piscium captura, Vic. Perth...' RMS IV, 1059. Also, on the Spey: 31 Dec 1617, James Forbes of Tolmadies heir assignee to the town and lands of Over and Nether Lynkwodis, the lands of Wod and the town and lands of Ordequische, - 'cum salmomon piscaria super aqua de Spey, villam et terras de Ellie, villa et terras de Inchbarie cum salmonum piscaria super dicti aqua.....' RMS VII, 1747.

³ N.A.S. Ailsa muniments (Ayrshire), GD25/9/52.

⁴ Similar listings and an insight into the eighteenth-century game laws are outlined in L. Leneman, *Living in Atholl 1685-1785* (Edinburgh, 1986), 182-85.

many men wore a blue bonnet, and married woman covered their heads with a cloak.¹ With regard to housing the *O.S.A.* for Auchtergaven contains what appears to be a contradiction typical of the unsubstantiated statements made by contributors with varying motives. Here the minister states in 1795: 'there are from 20 to 30 regular farms, from 30 to 200 acres each, and upon all of them neat elegant houses and offices covered with slate'. This praise seems to apply to the main tenants only, as two pages later the minister notes that many of the tenants who only have small possessions are poorly accommodated: 'This is partly their own fault for they certainly might, with a good deal of trouble but without much expense, render their little habitations much more comfortable. ...Numbers of them live in small villages in smoky damp houses built of turf and stone and thatched with straw or heath'. He then lists the diseases most prevalent as rheumatism, deafness, and epidemic fevers.² Evidence of such housing is supported by later scholars.³ In Auchtergaven the tenants with 'small possessions' referred to are probably subtenants, and cottars on their small holdings, rather than full tenants in the legal sense. The minister could therefore be seen as suggesting that by 1795 both the agricultural output, and the holdings of the main tenants, had improved whereas those in the fermtouns and cottowns, or on plots of less than 30 acres, are residing in damp disease-prone housing which he considers is partly a situation of their own making. Therefore by the end of the eighteenth century the housing and health of Auchtergaven's ordinary folk below the rank of tenant does not, in that contributor's opinion, appear to have improved in keeping with that of their betters.

ARGYLL ESTATES.

The geographical contrasts between the type of terrain occupied by the greater part of the Argyll estates, and that in which Auchtergaven is situated, are substantial in many respects. Most of the Argyll estates are located on the islands, peninsulas and

¹ P. Hume Brown, *Scotland, a short history*, (Edinburgh, 1961), 197, 275-276. See also M. H. B. Sanderson, *A Kindly Place? Living in sixteenth-century Scotland* (East Linton, 2002), 70-82, 183.

² *O. S. A.* XII, 33 and 35.

³ T. C. Smout, *History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, (London, 1969), 139-141.
- also: Flinn (ed), *Scottish Population History*, 195.

meandering coastline, which are the prime physical features of Scotland's rugged western shores. The landscape is mountainous and occasionally undulating, and where in a few places the terrain does appear to be flat, the soil is invariably thin, or it is in fact a peat bog. The only geographical feature in common with Auchtergaven is that both locations are rural, with the possible exception of where a north-west corner of Auchtergaven parish straddles the 'highland line'. In both instances highland terrain such as this was, and still is, only suited for the grazing of livestock or for the cutting of peats from what was termed 'moss'. In those locations on the Argyll estates where an arable crop could be planted, this soil was found to be in continual need of a compost fertiliser. In Auchtergaven fertilisation was provided by livestock and also latterly by lime, whereas on the west coast the fertilisation by livestock had for long been supplemented with seaweed. As the west coast holdings that were suitable for arable crops tended to be small and scattered, and only accessible in some places by a footpath, this appears to have dictated that throughout much of the region the spade was deemed more expedient than the plough. Dodgshon, in his observations about the west coast communities, cites an example where:

Those in Ardnamurchan typify the sort of township economy we find in these areas by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. According to a survey of 1807, the surviving runrig townships still had sizeable arable sectors despite the physical problems of the area. In most cases, though, arable was only maintained at this level by the use of the spade for much of it consisted of small detached pieces. This effort to bring land into cultivation was driven by the simple fact that they were oppressed with too many tenants.¹

Although Dodgshon has suggested that the foregoing example of Ardnamurchan on the Argyll estates is typical, it is perceived from developments in Auchtergaven, and no doubt elsewhere in Scotland, that this may not have been the case before the late eighteenth century. Dodgshon then encapsulates some of the stark contrasts between a way of life which still persisted in parts of the west coast as late as 1807, and that which had undergone transformation elsewhere in south, central and eastern Scotland, as is exemplified by the changes which to all intents had been completed in

¹ From N.A.S., AF49/2A, 'Valuation of the Estate of Ardnamurchan, 1807'. in Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 187.

Auchtergaven parish by the 1780s. Prominent in Dodgshon's observation is the survival on the west coast of the runrig townships, and the implication that this system persisted, simply because the townships were oppressed by the presence of too many tenants, who were endeavouring to subsist from holdings comprising small detached pieces of ground. That this excess of west coast tenants were reluctant to move is evident from the traumatic upheavals of the 'Clearances' which began to peak in the north and west of Scotland within a decade or two of 1807. Auchtergaven, by contrast, can be seen as representing the situation which existed in the predominantly Lowland or central agricultural regions, where a proximity in the eighteenth century to an ever expanding industrial belt provided numerous opportunities for those who did not achieve their desired fulfilment of being tenants, or even sub-tenants on the land, to up-root and move to a choice of urban occupations.¹

Charles Withers' study primarily of the causes for Highland migration also acknowledges the social change in the rural lowlands, where the reduction in the numbers of subtenants and cottars by 1780 had diminished the main reserve labour force. In districts and parishes bordering the Highlands, such as Auchtergaven, this shortage of labour, which was at times crucial to the farming calendar, is highly likely to have increased the opportunities for the Highlanders to migrate, towards the more fertile arable areas of the south and east, as seasonal farm workers. This process as a whole could be considered to be an example of 'stepped migration', but Withers is the first to accept that one cannot really formulate a very accurate picture about these progressions in migration until the data becomes available from the 1844 Report of the Royal Commission of the Poor Law (Scotland), and from the 1851 census returns.²

This study detected that the gradual introduction of agricultural improvements in south, central and east Scotland, had resulted in a process of equally gradual or silent clearances, where many of those who may have been displaced from the land seem to have been absorbed by the also gradual advent of the Industrial Revolution. This posed

¹ Devine (ed), *Farm servants and labour in Lowland Scotland*, 2-3.

² C. W. J. Withers, *Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900* (East Linton, 1998), 4-5.

the question: because the geography of Scotland's north and west coast dictates that the available arable is primarily situated in small and scattered locations, did this inhibit the consolidating of holdings? As this could have been fundamental to the process of facilitating gradual improvements, and subsequently the less traumatic gradual clearances which had occurred elsewhere in Scotland throughout the eighteenth century. In this respect Dodgshon tends to support the minister of Tiree, by citing the example where the townships of Ardnamurchan consisted of small detached pieces of spade worked arable which were also burdened with too many small tenants. Also in Barrisdale, where grain output was insufficient to supply local needs, the sale of butter and cheese derived from grazing was used to buy in extra grain, with a substantial part of the diets in these townships supplemented by local fishing.¹ All this is more descriptive of a population which seems to have its work cut out in just subsisting, rather than supplying markets. In a recent work Tom Devine refutes the arguments that the Gaelic inhabitants of the north and west were conservative, indifferent to the uses of markets and unwilling to embrace new ways and improvements. Devine claims that these folk were aware of, and utilised, all of these things. However, he attributes the eventual migration of many not so much to clearances, but to a pride in seeking to preserve their ways elsewhere, although high rents and the overpopulation of scarce resources are indicated as significant factors.²

WEST COAST OCCUPATIONS.

With regard to comparative occupations, Scotland's north west coast and islands have, since the early nineteenth century, been famed as the home of many crofters and fishermen. Our studies of Auchtergaven have shown that the nearest inland equivalent, the tenant smallholder had, through the consolidation of tenancies and land holdings, virtually vanished from that parish by the late eighteenth century. In 1883 the Napier Commission defined crofters as renting their land from a landlord and not from a

¹ Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 186-87.

² T. M. Devine, 'A Conservative People? Scottish Gaeldom in the Age of Improvements' in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (eds), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Linton, 1999), 225-34.

superior tenant, and recognised that the returns from their holdings only met a part of their needs. Hunter emphasises that the primarily 'West Coast' crofter is not a subsistence agriculturalist, but a man who, while retaining his stake in the land, has always had to have an occupation ancillary to that of farming his holding.¹

In the database-assisted study of the earl of Argyll's horning of 1675,² which appears to be directed primarily against the Macleans and others who were residing in Morvern, Mull, and Tiree, of the 522 potential possessors or tenants listed, as expected, no occupations are mentioned apart from 19 who were designated as the tacksmen of their locations. Of the 2,165 persons listed in Stonefield's survey of the Argyll estates in 1716,³ only the occupations or designations of 200 of them are given, of which:

36 are designed 'of' a location,	9 bailies and other officers.
3 ministers,	5 tacksmen or subtacksmen,
9 tenants,	4 subtenants or cottars.
9 bowmen,	6 poets and musicians
60 servants,	24 workmen,
20 herds,	2 each; millers, weavers, tailors,
1 each; merchant, change keeper, smith, boat wright, maltster, gardener, porter, cooper, and tinker.	

An additional number were given as the servants of persons for whom no designation or occupation is stated. Given that the term servant then simply meant 'employee', irrespective of their master's calling, if we take away the 60 persons listed as servants, and the 36 likely proprietors who are designated as 'of' a location, we are left with just 104 people with specified occupations. Hardly enough to form any conclusions, but if we compare the remaining occupations with those available for Auchtergaven (albeit for 1792), it appears evident from the presence of bowmen, herds, tacksmen, subtacksmen, tenants, subtenants and cottars, that the Argyll estates of 1716 were primarily agricultural. That no fishermen are mentioned may well indicate that it was simply taken for granted on coastal locations that fishing was a secondary

¹ J. Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community* (Edinburgh, 1976), 3.

² N.A.S. Particular Register of Hornings, Argyllshire. DI.23/1/2. ff 685v-75v.

³ N. Maclean-Bristol (ed.) *Inhabitants of the Inner Isles, 1716* (Edinburgh, S.R.S. 1998).

occupation. One boat wright is indeed evident in the foregoing listing of occupations, and it is highly likely that he would have had much more than just one boat to work on in order to indicate that this was a main occupation. Part time tradesmen are not listed but fleshers, carpenters, masons, tanners and shoemakers, to name but a few, are hardly likely to be absent from such communities. As in Auchtergaven evidence of multiple occupations is indicated, but as in the islands and highlands multiple occupations were a factor of life which persists in that region to this day, direct evidence of such for at least one of our study areas is substantiated for the year 1792 as follows:

TIREE OCCUPATIONS.

‘Tradesmen are numerous yet some good ones are much wanted. It is not easy to calculate their number because in general they are not distinct from farmers. Many men and women work at the weaving.’¹ Tiree’s minister continues by providing an valuable although somewhat subjective contribution for the purposes of this study. Here he goes to great pains to stress that the problems besetting his parishioners in 1792 could all be cured by fishing. The main points of Mr M’Coll’s argument are:

This parish in its present situation is over peopled, that though the land be still occupied by small tenants, 1,200 or 1,500 males and females above eight year old might be spared for fishing and other manufactures. For which purpose, ...every farm especially those of 30 to 200 inhabitants should be subdivided and enclosed to one or at most four tenants, ...these few would be more disposed to improve their farms. ...Numerous inhabitants are agreeable. ...As this parish when improved might support a village in most of the necessities of life, ...for the encouragement of tradesmen, ...above all fishing should never be neglected. ..There are yearly companies from Barra and Ayr, ...they commonly catch from 100 to 240 per day, so that sometimes they do not raise their whole lines at once their boats not being able to carry the fish ashore. ...Notwithstanding having a great number of boats in the parish, ...and having many hardy seamen amongst them they do not in this district pursue the fishing with spirit. The reasons are obvious. They are mostly farmers having a small portion of land in common with many which requires daily attendance. ...Poor people who have a sure yet starving way of supporting their families seldom risk their small fortunes, ...The danger of not being successful frightens them.²

¹ *O.S.A.* XX, 266.

² *O.S.A.* XX, 269-270.

Here the Reverend Mr Archibald M'Coll, conveniently summarises several of the social dilemmas facing the inhabitants of Tiree, which by 1792 had mostly been resolved in mainland parishes such as Auchtergaven. Tiree's problem appears to be that there was not sufficient compulsion, from tenant and superior alike, to implement changes which may or may not have been beneficial for the community. At the same time Mr M'Coll is verifying the outcome of our earlier study where, because of the profusion of small or shared tenancies, initially one could not identify who were subtenants or cottars. This question may possibly be resolved for the late eighteenth century where the minister notes that in 1792 there were 467 families in the parish, 270 of whom were farmers, 131 cottars, and 66 workmen whose occupations are not specified. Given that this large number of farmers was more likely to include the small and shared tenancy holders, and the workmen more likely to be of an uncertain status, then it is possible that we could have 270 tenant families to 197 cottar and other ordinary folk's families, or 42 per cent below the rank of tenant.

TIREE - AUCHTERGAVEN COMPARISONS.

By comparison there are no *O.S.A.* figures for the tenancies in Auchtergaven as a whole, although a survey from 1791 for the Obney district of that parish shows that a massive 84.8 per cent belonged to tenant families, or a mere one in five were subtenant or cottar families. But our studies of Auchtergaven had indicated that many, who could have been the former subtenants and cottars, were either working at the new mill in that parish or had migrated to Scotland's nearby industrial belt. This is in many respects similar to the change in occupations that Tiree's Mr M'Coll was proposing, except that he was advocating fishing, rather than mill working. Whether any of Archibald M'Coll's suggestions were heeded would take us into another century and outwith our present field of enquiry, but his concern for his parishioners contrasts with that of William Chalmers the then minister at Auchtergaven, who tended to dismiss the problems of the lower orders as being partly self-inflicted. One wonders if Mr Chalmers' implied disdain for the lower orders was in any way symptomatic of the relationship between the classes, at least in Perthshire where secession from the established church was prevalent at that time. Mr Chalmers stated that around a quarter

of his parishioners in Auchtergaven were seceders, whereas Mr M'Coll on Tiree reported that there is 'no schism from the established church'.¹

In chapter 2 the question arose whether 35 per cent of Auchtergaven's inhabitants were aged under 15 in c.1650. In a study of the 1779 Argyll estate survey Robert Tyson notes that 43 per cent of Tiree's population were aged under 15 then, and 44 per cent were under 15 on Mull, compared with 35 per cent in England at the time and 33 per cent for Scotland in 1755.² Also, 46 per cent of those in Kinghorn in 1581 were probably aged under 15.³ Although figures above 40 per cent for such may not have been the national norm, in some places they do not seem unusual.

HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS DIET AND HOUSING.

Whereas the diet of the Lowlander was dominated by oatmeal for the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the early seventeenth century animal derived foods, especially cheese, flesh and milk, were in general quite important to those who resided in the uplands and in the isles beyond. Martin Martin writing of his native Hebrides at the end of the seventeenth century noted that only the persons of distinction ate flesh every day, whereas the ordinary folk there had butter, cheese, milk, cabbage and oatmeal.⁴ In the eighteenth century the Highland and Islands diet was to become increasingly dominated by oatmeal, imported from the Lowlands, but this was invariably supplemented by sea foods throughout the coastal areas. By 1750 potatoes had become crucial in sustaining both Highlander and Lowlander alike. Gibson and Smout are of the opinion that Highlanders were no doubt still able to poach a little venison, rabbit, and salmon, and even under the regime of the new sheep runs they were allowed the privilege of devouring the occasional diseased or 'braxy' mutton.⁵

¹ O.S.A. XX, 275.

² R. E. Tyson, 'Demographic Change' in Devine and Young (eds), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, 206.

³ See chapt 1, and N.A.S. ref: CH2/472/vol 1, ff 125-35v.

⁴ In Gibson and Smout, 'Scottish Food and Scottish History', 71.

⁵ Gibson and Smout, 'Scottish Food and Scottish History', 71-73.

Few if any examples survive of Highland or Lowland housing utilised by Scotland's ordinary folk in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For tourism purposes one or two latter-day cottar's or crofter's villages have indeed been replicated on original sites, such as at Auchindrain in Argyllshire, but the information about their construction tends to survive only in drawings, paintings,¹ and among estate papers of the period. Throughout seventeenth-century Scotland the basic type of farmstead or 'peasant house', which was common in Atlantic Europe and in the uplands of north and west Britain, consisted of a long structure where people, crops, equipment and animals were accommodated under a continuous long roof. Fundamental to the size and quality of the structure would appear to have been the size and quality of the arched timber cruck-framing, or couples, which would have supported a roofing ranging from straw, broom and heather to turf or slate. In inland areas where timber was plentiful the houses were usually more substantial than those on the moors or on the islands. The rights to the timber cruck frame and the maintenance thereof were often a more important issue within the terms of a tenant's lease than was the construction of the walls of the house. Whyte notes that it was rare for a Lowland tenant to be allowed to remove their roof timbers when they left their holding, as appears to have been more common in the Highlands. This regional difference may have been because the timber frames of Highland and Island dwellings, being smaller, were easier to dismantle and replace. Whyte also notes that in the western isles, where timber was particularly scarce, more emphasis was laid upon solid stone walling with earth as packing or a core. Also, the couples of the Hebridean houses seem not to have been as large, with the wood more flimsy than their mainland equivalents.²

TIREE DIETS AND HOUSING.

Apart from the observations of travellers, and a few inferences derived from an equally scarce selection of estate papers, little can be said in a positive sense about the

¹ For a comprehensive study and representation of these dwellings see: A. Fenton and B. Walker, *The Rural Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1981), 18-23.

² Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland*, 162-164.

diet and housing on any one of the isles, of the inner Hebrides in particular, until the advent of the *O.S.A.* In 1792 the prevalent crops on Tiree are listed in order as potatoes, barley and oats, with two thirds of the fertiliser used being seaweed. In addition to advocating changes in the occupations of his parishioners, Tiree's minister was also to the fore in putting the case for agricultural reforms. Mr M'Coll reported that Tiree's unfavourable climate made the harvesting of the crops currently utilised as too precarious to support this overpeopled island, and that the introduction of peas, turnips and other root and green crops in general, would be a great improvement. 'The inhabitants serve themselves in meal, feed and spirits, ...A few years ago they sold 200 to 300 Scotch gallons of whisky to the neighbouring islands from 30 stills, but is now reduced to three small licensed ones.'¹ Sea fowl, pigeons, rabbits, and recently introduced hare, are also mentioned as supplementary to the islanders' diets, and the minister's previously mentioned article, on the importance of fishing to the parish, suggests that the consumption of some sea foods in Tiree was taken for granted.

The houses of Tiree's common people were in 1792 reported as 'generally in dry situations and remarkably warm, built as is usual in sandy islands, of a stone inner and outer single wall filled up in the middle with sandy earth from 4 to 6 feet thick. The people are lively, industrious and often engaged in active employments in the open air'. Then, as in Auchtergaven, we once again encounter what could be a contradiction, or qualification, to the minister's initial complimentary report about the housing of his parishioners: 'yet the dampness of the place, the want of proper firing and the poor living of many, seems to be the great cause of frequent rheumatisms, dysenteries, and nervous fevers.'² Here it is being inferred that although the housing for some of the 'common people' on Tiree is generally dry and remarkably warm, the poor living 'of many' would appear to result in 'many' on Tiree being prone to similar complaints and diseases as were besetting the ordinary folk, also in damp housing, in mainland Auchtergaven parish. Given that Auchtergaven is situated some distance from the sea, in these circumstances the question arises as to whether 'the dampness of this place'

¹ *O.S.A.* XX, 259.

² *O.S.A.* XX, 265.

(Tiree's sea air, or island location), was solely responsible for the unhealthy living conditions of many of the poor there. This comparison with Auchtergaven is therefore suggesting that damp and disease-prone housing could have been a common feature of rural life, for many of Scotland's ordinary and poorer folk below the rank of tenant in the late eighteenth century, irrespective of their respective locations. Fenton's study of the housing of cottars tends to support this view, although reports from the period often have a bias towards the worst, though it is not to be doubted that for the most part farm workers were badly housed.¹

Although few precise facts can be offered about specific causes of death prior to the introduction of statutory death registrations in 1855 it is generally accepted, by the students of the sources that are available, that the biggest single category of death in most eighteenth-century bills of mortality was consumption, with those dwelling in poor housing and poverty foremost among the victims. Flinn et al do however emphasise that as the medical knowledge of the time believed that one disease could metamorphose from and into another, complaints now identified individually such as diabetes, diphtheria, asthma and the like, may have been included with what in recent time could be described as respiratory tuberculosis.² Modern medicine also stresses the significance of the nutritional status of the inhabitants in reducing the mortality rates which were resulting from tuberculosis, measles and cholera.³ In this context it is also relevant to pose the question as to whether many of our forebears who were of the subtenantry would have known conditions that were in any way better. In this respect welfare reports as uniform and detailed as those that appear in the *O.S.A.* and the like are generally very few and far between for the seventeenth century and earlier.

Therefore one can envisage that the vast majority of those residing in rural locations in particular must have prayed, long and loud, for seasons that were not too wet for their dwellings and not too dry for their crops.

¹ Fenton and Walker, *The Rural Architecture of Scotland*, 143-159.

² Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 289-90.

³ Anderson, 'Population change in north-western Europe' in Anderson (ed) *British Population History*, (Cambridge, 1996), 251.

THE URBAN STUDY AREAS.

From the outset of this chapter it has been important to emphasise that the differences in the geographical, physical, and man-made environments in which the inhabitants of our three study areas resided, are fundamental for the project. Cultural factors where clansmen may have had different values, and the physical geography of the western coastal areas were in many respects contributory factors in the inhabitants there being unable to experience the same changes in their agricultural environment, that the folk in Auchtergaven witnessed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For although for the people of Auchtergaven these changes were gradual and possibly spread over two to three generations, both of these study areas remained, and still are, primarily rural. By contrast in the St Cuthberts and Edinburgh study areas the environment is one which was, and still is, predominantly urban.

In the course of identifying a potential urban study area St Cuthberts was considered because fairly complete examination rolls for that parish survive for facilitating of comparisons between the years 1635 and 1749-50. Also, as St Cuthberts surrounds Edinburgh to the north, west and south, scholars are beginning to recognise that this was exactly where a mass of ordinary folk were likely to be (see page 110). As to when St Cuthberts lost its rural mantle may best be seen in population and teind tax figures, as maps and art work from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries seldom reflect every type of settlement. Cartographers and artists of the time show housing in the parish, but these were built up districts substantial enough to be exempt from teind taxes.¹ But there were undoubtedly shanty and squatter areas overflowing from Edinburgh. To enhance their work the cartographer and artist presented open spaces outwith walls, some long removed, with only the occasional village, leaving the impression that St Cuthberts was at best suburban.² That St Cuthberts and the quality of its diverse inhabitants had hitherto not been deemed urban enough, contributed to it being a study area that did indeed present a very long overdue challenge.

¹ See page 115.

² An example being W. Hollar's 'A view of Edinburgh in 1670', in P. Hume Brown, *Scotland, a short history*, 253.

The questionable yet rationalised population figures derived from the Edinburgh session clerk's numbering of families in 1678 indicate there were then around 20,000 persons in the burgh of Edinburgh, 2,500 in Canongate, 6,000 in North and South Leith, and 7,000 in St Cuthberts.¹ With our preceding studies showing the average population for a parish ascertained from Webster's 1755 survey was 1,404 persons, then even in the unlikely event of the population figures for St Cuthberts in 1678 remaining at 7,000 until 1755, one could on Webster's declared population figures alone list St Cuthberts among the largest settlements in Scotland and way ahead of centres deemed urban such as Dumfries, Ayr, Dunfermline, Inverness and Stirling.² That the population of St Cuthberts reached 12,168 by 1755 verified it was still the eighth largest community in the land, just behind Greenock yet twice the size of the aforementioned burghs and two and a half times that of the burgh of the Canongate. Nevertheless, the occupations given in the Poll Tax listings of 1694 still reflect the presence of some small holdings. Estimates of St Cuthberts' population prior to 1678 have yet to be identified but as the 1635 examination roll lists 2,421 persons there, likely to be of communion age, then allowing for those aged less than fifteen, St Cuthberts' total population in 1635 may well have been around 4,000. A figure certain to be several times above the national average for a parish. This point is sustained where the population in 1678 had expanded to 7,000 souls and 12,168 in 1755 when the national average then was 1,404 per parish. The average for non-urban parishes would indeed be even smaller if we took Edinburgh out of the equation (and drastically so without Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen and all places deemed urban). Demographers such as de Vries now recognise that settlements and cities vary, and that unambiguous definition is not achievable.³ In our quest for information about the potential mass of ordinary folk that were likely to have been its inhabitants, it is not claimed that St Cuthberts is even a town, but is a study area in its own right. Also, irrespective of whether these folk were recognised as settled or otherwise, the search for information about them is the priority.

¹ *O.S.A.*, II, 1-2.

² *O.A.S.*, I, 144.

³ Jan de Vries, *European Urbanisation 1500-1800*, (London, 1984), 10-11.

ST CUTHBERTS AND EDINBURGH.

There are virtually no occupations shown on the examination rolls of St. Cuthberts for the 1630s, but whereas we have to wait until the eighteenth century before we encounter occupations for the inhabitants of Auchtergaven and the Argyll estates, fortunately occupations for Edinburgh and St Cuthberts or West Kirk parish survive from the Poll Tax returns. At this juncture it must however be emphasised that the following only represent the occupations for those residing in West Kirk or St Cuthberts parish in 1694 who were deemed taxable:¹

Cottars	435,	Smiths	13,
Female servants	223,	Brewers	11,
Male servants	173,	Coopers	10,
Gentry	76,	Servant sex unknown	9,
Tenants	65,	Merchants	7,
Weavers	55,	Tanners	6,
Workmen	49,	Bakers	5,
Apprentices	49,	Ministers	4,
Cordiners	45,	Carters	4,
Tailors	41,	Servant lives out	4,
Gardeners	25,	Curriers	3,
Wrights	21,		

2 each: Fleshers, Cowfeeders, Herds, and Keeper (civic property). 1 each: Advocate, Barber, Beadle, Bonnetmaker, Bowyer, Chapman, Coachman, Cook, Dyer, Miller, Procurator, Regent, Soldier, Stocking weaver, Surgeon, Tobacconist, and Wardrober.

Initially the number of cottars suggest rural occupations, but as cottages were just as common in burghs before multiple storey buildings, we cannot assume that the occupations of all cottagers were solely rural. For example no farmers are listed, just two herds. The two cowfeeders might be seen as having rural occupations, but such are evident in burghs in nineteenth-century census returns. To give the rural aspect the benefit of the doubt, if we add all of the 435 cottagers to the 25 gardeners and 65 tenants, as being solely involved with agricultural work, this gives us 525 potential rural occupations out of a 1,363 total, being 38.5 per cent, or, just over one in three of St Cuthberts' inhabitants were likely to have been involved in rural occupations.

¹ Source 1694 Poll Tax, in Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh*, 289-293.

Therefore even if the unspecified servants were divided between the rural and urban callings, the presence of the substantial urban factor due to the proximity to Edinburgh cannot be ignored; the majority of these servants were still likely to have been employed within that burgh. These were hardly country folk.

Although St Cuthberts is in many respects an extension of a more complex urban centre, one now respectfully queries that to qualify for urbanization in the late seventeenth century there had to be a high proportion of large households with servants, supertax payers, professionals, substantial merchants and a significant middling sort.¹ Were this so, then, although they had not seen a field for generations, the overcrowded inner London boroughs of Southwark, Lambeth, Bermondsey and Battersea would have been deemed as suburban as leafy Surbiton and Orpington, until the property boom of the late twentieth century began to attract the right middling 'sort'. Likewise prior to the 1940s the New York districts of the Bronx and Queens, with their ghettos and two to three million inhabitants, would have been deemed suburban; and is the vast South African township of Soweto, which is well detached from Johannesburg and unlikely to have any supertax payers, always to be considered as merely suburban? Aside from the shanty towns, and uncounted armies of squatters, the sheer size of the areas exempt from teind taxes dictates that the West Kirk or St Cuthberts of 1694 cannot be an ordinary suburb. This is borne out where although the amount of urban occupations, professionals, and the high number of 'Gentry' listed as residing there then may not match that of Edinburgh, their numbers in St Cuthberts not only exceeded what one would expect to find in rural parishes, but a separate investigation may well confirm that the number of middling sort dwelling in St Cuthberts surpasses the number of the same status that are to be found in many provincial and county capital long recognised as a burgh. But as our concepts of what is and what is not urban, suburban or rural are, according to de Vries, ambiguous, such becomes secondary to the fact that St Cuthberts' demography may well have had much in common with the abovementioned inner London boroughs. In this context the Poll Tax figures for West Kirk or St Cuthberts parish can therefore also be interpreted as showing:

¹ Dingwall, *Late 17th century Edinburgh*, 3.

SCOTTISH STUDY AREAS COMPARED

Gentry, professional, merchants, military or civic officials:	7.5 per cent.
Manufacturing and processing:	19.1 per cent.
Other potential urban occupations:	34.9 per cent.
Identified as potential rural occupations:	38.5 per cent. ¹

It is unclear whether the foregoing 19.1 per cent of manufacturers and processors were employers or employees, but by allowing that at least two thirds (12.4 per cent) of this group could have been employees, then the remaining 6.7 per cent plus the 7.5 per cent of Gentry etc. would result in virtually every seventh taxable person in St Cuthberts in 1694 having designations, or occupations, more in keeping with those of the upper or middling classes. This is a proportion which is certainly not present in our studies of rural Auchtergaven, Tìree, or elsewhere throughout the Argyll estates. These are occupational divisions that are more representative of what one might expect to encounter in many regional burghs.

St Cuthberts and Edinburgh diets and housing.

St Cuthberts or West Kirk is in a number of surviving surveys listed with Canongate, also at times with Leith, as a part of Edinburgh. In the same sense it would be difficult to verify whether the diet of the inhabitants of that particular parish differed in any way from that which was usual, at varying times, from those residing in the rest of that metropolitan sprawl. The presence of some market gardens on the outer fringes of St Cuthberts, and in the adjoining rural parishes, suggests that those involved with that produce may have enjoyed some fresh fruits and vegetables. But on the other hand those who appear to have been squatting in shanty settlements were probably scavenging for whatever was available. Dingwall cites Lorimer who noted that St Cuthberts and its roads were in the seventeenth century 'infected by numerous objects of pity, who had come from other quarters and had not legitimate claim on it' (for poor relief).² Gibson and Smout in their comprehensive study of Scottish foods mention that the Dean Orphan Hospital, in the Dean district of St Cuthberts, provided eggs for the

¹ For an alternative perspective see also Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh*, 142, where she incorporates into farming, all of the manual workers and those at sea to form 43.4 per cent.

² G. Lorimer, *Leives from the buik of the West Kirk*, (Edinburgh, 1885), 34, - cited in Dingwall, *Late 17th century Edinburgh*, 260. - see also: Cullen, 'Famine in Scotland in the 1690s', 262-70.

inmates 'when cheap'. In addition to oatmeal, and wheaten bread enjoyed primarily by the rich in the cities, fish was also available to the area in and around Edinburgh as a whole, especially herring, but also saith, haddock, cod, codling, whiting and various kinds of shellfish including (from the nearby Firth of Forth) oysters.¹ At first for the consumption of Edinburgh's wealthier inhabitants, the eighteenth century in particular began to see an increase in importations, mostly through Leith, of a variety of novel foods, spices, and beverages such as teas and coffee, from overseas.

Housing in St Cuthberts differed from that of the neighbouring capital in that, throughout the seventeenth century at least, multi-storey tenement building had yet to spread out from Edinburgh. Also, the Poll Tax returns of 1694 indicate the substantial number of cottages and the proportion of merchants' and gentry dwellings in St Cuthberts are well in excess of what one would expect to find in rural parishes. A very significant factor is however where the population figures derived from examination and tax rolls for St Cuthberts, and the tax rolls for Edinburgh, fall short of the overall population figures given by other authorities (see pages **129-31**). The implication is that many of the unaccounted for must have been residing in back lands or garrets, or outwith the burgh in squatter settlements in St Cuthberts, or even in South Leith, which during our study period also contained many merchant, mercantile, and professional inhabitants who would hardly have considered themselves suburban.²

Between the mid sixteenth and mid seventeenth centuries the population of Edinburgh had doubled to produce one of the densest concentrations of urban dwellers in Europe, resulting in the building of high rise tenements on a unique scale.³ Fire risk saw the phasing out of timber built structures so that by the early seventeenth century the upper part of the high street was lined with houses rising to six or seven storeys. The area around Parliament Close had up to seven storeys facing north onto the High

¹ Gibson and Smout, 'Scottish Food and Scottish History', 70-71.

² Webster in 1755 gave Scotland's population as 1,263,385. Divided by 900 parishes (or thereby) = an average of 1,404 persons per parish, with South Leith's population given then as 7,200, - see *O.S.A.* I, 149 and II, 4.

³ M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), 2-8.

Street, with as many storeys below facing south on the slope leading down to the Cowgate. Whyte notes that on the other hand, the dark evil smelling closes filled with rubbish, and the general low standard of cleanliness of the inhabitants were universally condemned.¹

Sadly material comparable with the St Cuthberts' examination rolls which could facilitate ascertaining what the ratio may have been between the main tenants and the subtenants and other ordinary folk residing there, either in part for the parish as a whole, was not readily identifiable. This situation may indeed have been aggravated by the difficulties of ascertaining exactly who was who and the circumstances in which they were residing. Nevertheless, when they were compared with other sources, the figures derived from the examination rolls, and the Poll Tax, were able to provoke questions, especially with regard to what percentage of that parish's population may have been deemed unexaminable and untaxable.

Edinburgh occupations.

The stent rolls for some of the inner or quoad-sacra parishes of Edinburgh, and population listings for that burgh derived by way of the *O.S.A.*, were eventually able to provide for this project indications of what the ratios of tenants to subtenants and others may have been at comparable times in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The question of what the main occupations were within the burgh also raises questions about how they are interpreted. These have already been collated from the 1694 Poll Tax figures very ably by Helen Dingwall, and are for 'taxable' persons only residing in Edinburgh, Canongate, North and South Leith, and St Cuthberts. Leaving aside the Canongate, North and South Leith, and the St Cuthberts occupations, the remainder of the occupations in sub-parishes within the burgh of Edinburgh total as follows:

¹ Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 185-187.

SCOTTISH STUDY AREAS COMPARED

Female servants	2,761,	Male servant	773,	Apprentices	536,
Merchants	352,	Servant sex unknown	254,	Gentry	207,
Tailors	202,	Writers	178,	Wrights	96,
Servant live out	91,	Ministers	69,	Workmen	52,
Writer to Signet	49,	Bakers	48,	Masons	39,
Cordiners	39,	Stablers	39,	Skinners	37,
Advocates	35,	Soldiers	35,	Notars	33,
Dr Medicine	33,	Brewers	30,	Wigmakers	28,
Weavers	27,	Fleshers	23,	Surgeons	22,
Vintners	22,	Messengers	21,	Smiths	20,
Glovers	19,	Shopkeepers	18,	Apothecaries	18,
Clerks	18,	Goldsmiths	18,	Cobblers	15,
Saddlers	15,	Candlemakers	14,	Procurators	14,
Pewterers	14,	Gardeners	13,	Schoolmasters	13,
Dyers	12,	Felt makers	12,	Gunsmiths	10,
Slaters	10,	Glaziers	9,	Tanners	9,

8 each: coppersmiths, painters, alesellers, students, poultrymen.

7 each: schoolmistress, waiters.

6 each: printers, chapmen, keepers (civic property), extractors, musicians, silk weavers, violers.

5 each: armourers, barbers, bookbinders, commissary, coopers, cooks, cramers, fletchers, horse hirers, sheriff's officers, wool combers.

4 each: council post, currier, fencing master, regent, stationer, surveyor, town officer.

3 each: bowyer, hammermen, macer, maltmen, watchmaker, waulker.

2 each: bishop, bookseller, butterwife, coffeehouse, cutler, embroiderer, footmen, fruit-wife, perfumer, plasterer, pursuivant, seamstress, senator, sheriff, turner, threadmaker.

1 each: archbishop, arithmetician, assaymaster, beadle, bellmaker, buttonmaker, cheese-monger, coachman, confectioner, cork cutter, cowfeeder, Dr divinity, drawer, engraver, executioner, factor, herald, janitor, jeweller, mortcloth keeper, signet keeper, lace maker, lockmaker, revels master, mealmaker, midwife, mirror maker, precentor, quaich maker, razor maker, secretary of war, silk dyer, stocking weaver, teacher, book keeping teacher, tobacconist, upholsterer, usher, virginal maker, warden of mint, and writing master.

Figures such as these can be interpreted in different ways, and in the quest for simplicity in addressing the essential, the predominance of living-in female servants does raise the question as to whether there is a surplus of males somewhere, who may have been 'commuting' daily into the burgh, and as St Cuthberts surrounds Edinburgh on three sides this could be the first place to look. Keeping in mind that the Poll Tax figures represent only the adult taxpayers, Dingwall attributes the ratio of 76 males:100 females within the burgh of Edinburgh to this predominance of female servants. That

there was still a female predominance of 89 males: 100 females in St Cuthberts, tends to verify that many of these were also female servants. Comparing the St Cuthberts' examination rolls for the years 1635 and 1749-50, which reflect the examinable of communion age, both of these still show an imbalanced ratio 85 males:100 females, with the *O.S.A* of 1791 for St Cuthberts giving 89 males:100 females. There being therefore no surplus of males in St Cuthberts, in comparable sources of the period, suggests that servants who are likely to have been responsible for Edinburgh's, and indeed St Cuthberts', imbalance of females, may have migrated from well beyond the capital. For example the c.1650 list of inhabitants for Auchtergaven shows a ratio of 99 males:100 females, or that a very high 49.77 per cent were male, begs the question; where have the expected surplus of females migrated to? No doubt the towns. Though 100 years later, a study of the annexed estates, which includes that of Nairn in Auchtergaven, shows a ratio of 91 males:100 females.¹

SEX RATIOS AND MIGRATION.

Occupational listings alone can however mislead one into producing false interpretations. For example the Edinburgh Poll Tax shows that traditional male occupations and trades there total 3,380. By adding to the 2,761 female servants the 345 servants who are living out and sex unknown, and the 25 stated or likely female occupations such as cook, threadmaker and buttonmaker, we still have only 3,131 females, which at first seems to reverse Dingwall's figures to 93 females:100 males paying Tax in Edinburgh. But the number of wives, who do not appear in occupational listings, would rectify this misinterpretation of the sex ratio. Flinn argues that where the Poll Tax figures survive there was approximately an equal number of males and females, and that the poor who were omitted from the tax were predominantly female. Also, that there were likely to be more females in the towns than was, according to Flinn, the norm.² Flinn also ventures that apart from where the Poll Tax and Webster's survey of 1755 indicate a balanced sex ratio, there are no reliable sources nationally

¹ Flinn (ed), *Scottish Population History*, 250-251.

² Flinn (ed), *Scottish Population History*, 191-192.

until the *O.S.A.* of the 1790s. Nevertheless, that St Cuthberts and the area around the Forth was 'highly urbanised' in our study period is supported where Whyte adds 'that by the later seventeenth century 40 per cent of the population in this region lived in towns, a figure higher than contemporary East Anglia and comparable with parts of the Netherlands'.¹ In the second half of that century Edinburgh's economy had changed decisively to that of an administrative centre with high concentrations of employment in the professions and in the service sector. But Lynch tends to echo Flinn's reservations about the interpretations proffered with respect to the available pre 1790 sources, where he is of the opinion that the impact of these changes to Edinburgh, in the second half of the seventeenth century, had yet to be properly assessed for the region that surrounded that burgh.²

This part of the study has tried to show that figures, as in the Poll Tax, are often in danger of being interpreted differently, and accepts that more females resided in urban areas while in rural areas the sexes were more balanced. To Whyte the Poll Tax records suggest that in the 1690s Scotland's four largest towns employed at least 12,000 female servants, who upon returning to their rural roots (invariably to marry) represented a flow of money and new ideas to the countryside.³ But in a recent work Whyte emphasises that although there were high levels of migration, for most it was never over great distances but merely to neighbouring parishes and towns within easy reach of their family and relatives. Likewise even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries marriage partners were still drawn from a very limited geographical radius.⁴ That the male rural population throughout the seventeenth century was however likely to have been fairly static is not altogether a comfortable conclusion. Many apprentices would likewise have returned to the countryside. But perhaps the most comprehensive explanation as to where some of the young men may have gone is presented in Smout,

¹ Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 178-79.

² M. Lynch, 'Urbanisation and urban networks in seventeenth century Scotland' *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 12, (1992), 24-41.

³ Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 179.

⁴ I. D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-1830* (Basingstoke, 2000), 175.

SCOTTISH STUDY AREAS COMPARED

Landsman and Devine's study of Scottish emigration.¹ In this work as many as 30,000 Scots are given as being in Poland as soldiers or merchants as early as 1621, with that country being 'the mother and nurse for the youth and younglings of Scotland'.² The military factor indicates rather obviously that young males must have been to the fore among the migrants in question, and the extent of these emigrations during our period of interest is then conveniently encapsulated in the following tables:³

Scottish Migration 1600-50.			1650-1700.		1700-1800.
	min.	max.		min.	max.
Ireland	20,000 - 30,000		Ireland	60,000 - 100,000	
Poland	30,000 - 40,000		America	7,000 -	7,000
Scandinavia	25,000 - 30,000				America c.60,000
Elsewhere	10,000 - 15,000		Elsewhere	10,000 -	20,000

One question is what effect if any did these figures have on sex ratios, especially if these migrants were primarily male? This is difficult to ascertain due to the shortage of sources for the earlier period, which invariably only refer to males. Women also travelled with soldiers and mariners well into the nineteenth century, but in what precise numbers is undoubtedly a matter for a separate study. Smout et al. estimate that in the seventeenth century there were c.30,000 Scots in Poland alone, such a large figure is therefore hardly likely to have gone unaccompanied by females. But are such large emigration figures symptomatic of the displacement of a burgeoning population in Scotland during a period for which scant corroborative documentation survives. Whyte explains that the levels of 'migration turnover' in Early-Modern England and lowland Scotland were higher than in many continental peasant societies, where owner occupation reduced the movement of farming families and reliance on family labour meant fewer farm servants were employed. However, in the poorer upland areas like the Alps and the Massif Central in the seventeenth century there was a need to earn from

¹ T. C. Smout, N. C. Landsman, and T. M. Devine, 'Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move* (New York, 1994), 76-112.

² W. Lithgow, 'The Total Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painfull Peregrinations of Long nineteen Yeares Travayles' in Smout, Landsman, Devine, 'Scottish Emigration', 81.

³ Smout, Landsman, Devine, 'Scottish Emigration', 85, 90, 98.

seasonal migration to the lowlands and towns, a pattern which Whyte saw as developing later in Britain.¹ That certain seasonal migrations developed later in Britain, such as Highlanders filling gaps left by those absorbed by the Industrial Revolution, is not disputed. But Whyte's Early-Modern 'migration turnover' and Smout et al's migration of up to 115,000 Scot males alone between 1600-1650, raises the spectre that untold thousands were in fact being displaced from these islands in a period for which only a modicum of documentation survives, and those sources which are extant are primarily concerned only with the activities of the settled.

In the course of undertaking family history research one is at times surprised at the apparent mobility of a particular forebear. But prior to the gathering momentum of agricultural improvements and industrialisation, which seemed to have come together in Scotland in the late eighteenth century, even as late as 1979 respected scholars such as Whyte were arguing that despite the propensity of the Scots to emigrate, the rural population at home was notable for its immobility; the horizons of the tenant farmer were probably bounded by the seasonal markets in the nearest burgh. But here again Whyte is perhaps only seeing immobility among the settled. Without a testimonial from one's former parish a potential migrant was in danger of being treated as a vagabond. At Lasswade in 1696 anyone receiving a stranger for more than three days who was not a near relative was liable to a fine of £10 Scots.² This may be a unique example from a period of acute famine, but a valid testimonial was to all intents a character passport. Twenty years later however, following a study of migration in Britain between 1550 and 1830, Whyte seems to qualify his earlier observations by indicating that although our forebears may have been more mobile than had hitherto been anticipated, most movements remained local, within communities or between neighbouring ones. Most communities were neither net gainers or losers, although he does concede that the expansion of Britain's urban system would have been impossible without a steady inward flow of migrants. Despite changes in transport technology, to Whyte, some

¹ Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain*, 174.

² N.A.S. Penicuik Muniments GD18/695, also cited by Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland*, 12-13.

SCOTTISH STUDY AREAS COMPARED

features of pre-industrial mobility remain a feature of life today. 'Marriage partners are still drawn from a very limited geographical radius, reflecting contacts generated through neighbourhood, workplace, and social circles.'¹

It is highly questionable as to whether future historians could ever consider a study of late twentieth-century migration patterns based upon the very limited proximity of marriage partners. For then as now, a parish, or an urban registration district especially, could be swamped with migrants, but marriage between them should not be in danger of being misinterpreted as the limited mobility of locals. A precise examination of the instances of mobility among our individual Early-Modern forebears, and whether or not this can be ascertained from the likes of death registrations or testimonials which may or may not have been recorded, especially when migrating to a town or overseas, is a separate project for future research. Seasonal migrations, especially at harvest time, would appear to have been an unregulated tradition between locations such as the Highlands and Auchtergaven. For all of those who undertook and failed to return from these seasonal migrations to have had testimonials, is difficult to envisage, and currently just as difficult to verify.

SCOTTISH STUDIES SUMMARISED

Working from the aforementioned findings of other scholars, and from the information that has been gleaned from our respective study areas in Perthshire, Argyllshire, St Cuthberts, and Edinburgh, the general situation in Scotland with regard to the living accommodation of the ordinary folk in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would, for much of the time, appear to have been damp and unhealthy. Even though the views expressed in the *O.S.A.* are prone to being unsubstantiated and possibly subjective, the minister of Auchtergaven had indicated that by the end of the eighteenth century many of those below the rank of tenant, especially the poor, were living in conditions which are inferred as having not improved, to any significant degree, over the period of our enquiry. These sentiments are likewise echoed by the minister of Tiree in Argyllshire, who is indicating that even the tenants there seem to

¹ Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain*, 173-175.

be in a poorer state than their Auchtergaven counterpart. This poverty the Tiree minister clearly attributes to the reluctance of the tenantry there to implement improvements and consolidate their holdings.

Apart from overcrowding and unsafe structures and possibly because only the 'settled' are mentioned, there are few directly adverse observations about the lesser orders who were dwelling in the upper levels of the tenements which seem to have been a feature of Edinburgh and many other Scottish towns,¹ although those unfortunate enough to be residing near to the closes or vennels leading to the backlands, or backyards of such, were prone to being in a 'noisome' location. The greatest problem for the ordinary folk who were indwellers or incomers to the urban environment would seem to have been the danger of relegation to the ranks of a substratum, which appears to have been clinging very precariously, to the fringes of accountable and recognised society. Such a relegation could indeed be viewed by posterity, and this study, as a descent to the ranks of the potentially unaccounted for. Nevertheless, apart from the shortages such as that resulting from the bad harvests of the 1690s, the majority of folk in rural Scotland below the rank of tenant do not seem to have gone hungry. The Lowland diet, predominantly of oatmeal, may not have been very imaginative for those in Auchtergaven. However, the tables of those residing on Tiree and elsewhere on the northern and western coastlines were supplemented with sea foods and, in the Highlands, at times with game. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries fish and game would appear to have been available in quantities which, by the late twentieth century, were to become a memory.

Food shortages seem to have been a diminishing concern for city dwellers. That poor relief was more abundant in towns, especially in Edinburgh, seemed to attract larger numbers of starving country folk particularly in the late sixteenth century and in the 'Ill years' of the 1690s.² Therefore migration to Edinburgh, and the St Cuthberts overflow, appears to have been underway well before the migrations caused by the eighteenth century agricultural improvements or by the Industrial Revolution.

¹ Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 187.

² Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 169-170.

6. COMPARISONS WITH OTHER FINDINGS PERTAINING TO BRITAIN .

In a work concerned with locating Scotland's ordinary folk among the lesser known sources for Scottish social and family history research, it was never envisaged that time and resources should then be extended to locating primary evidence elsewhere in Britain, or on the European Continent, which might refer to the ordinary folk in those countries. However, by reviewing the relevant secondary literature of others, especially of those scholars whose studies of a similar nature may have referred to localities in Britain and Europe, we can still endeavour to make a number of comparisons with the findings from the Scottish studies which we have undertaken thus far. Beginning with England, we can then try to ascertain how these similarities and differences between populations, family structures, and changes in the period, may have affected the respective rural and urban sub-tenantry of both countries.

We noted that a fundamental difference between Scottish and English research is where women are referred to by their maiden names in Scottish records, therefore some may have taken it for granted that Scotland's parish records in particular were more informative, and possibly more so, than those that survive south of the Border. It is true that because a Scotswoman retained her maiden name, most of our collections of documents, and not just the O.P.R.s, can be far easier to identify and use for family reconstitution than their English counterparts. However, England is blessed with having many of its parish records intact from the sixteenth century, whereas for Scotland just one or two locations have similar records that have survived from the mid sixteenth century, and a mere 10 per cent dating earlier than 1640 (see fig I). Auchtergaven starts 1740, Tiree 1775. Also, as the ratio between population and sample is not linear, a similar Wrigley and Schofield type study for Scotland could need data from around 200 parishes. However, even if one was able to identify an acceptable amount of uniformity in the data for just a handful of Scotland's parishes, the higher survival rate of the registers for Scotland's burghs indicates that any estimations derived from the 200 or so that are extant prior to the late seventeenth century would not adequately reflect the activities of Scotland's widely scattered rural parishes. Flinn, in the introduction to *Scottish Population History*, is the first to admit that 'in spite of careful and time-

consuming examination, we were unable to find even a single Scottish parish with a set of registers for an adequate run of years, and of a sufficient high quality to meet the exacting requirements of reconstitution'.¹ Wrigley and Schofield eventually produced a family reconstitution, but they acknowledge that the difficulties and limitations attached to formulating such from England's church records were fundamental among the reasons for them having to resort to back-projection (see pp 7-8).

Although England may have a wider range of records for the middle ages, for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one cannot ignore the information located for the three study areas in this work, especially that for the St Cuthberts - Edinburgh area. Here it became evident that for any project about those below the rank of tenant, who also made up the vast majority of England's population, there was the all important factor of how many were likely to be excluded from sources which hitherto have often been taken, by many a layman and scholar alike, as comprehensive. Population figures given by ministers, especially to Webster, invariably exceed the figures encountered in examination rolls and tax lists for their parishes, indicating that many of St Cuthbert's and Edinburgh's inhabitants in our study period appear to have been deemed untaxable and unexaminable, and possibly unaccounted for (chap 4, pp 128-131). In this respect Beatrice Gottlieb's observations on the western household cautions against bold forays into statistics (exemplified perhaps by Wrigley and Schofield), where she writes that the 'the upper-class' or taxable homes we usually hear about are often so extreme, in one way or another, that we can easily suspect them of being exceptions. 'In any case, the feel of life in a peasant household is something that hardly anyone bothered to describe until the very end of the eighteenth century and it may not be safe to extrapolate backward. All we can do is juggle bits and pieces, which seem to form a pattern of obligations entangled with joys and sometimes outweighing them'.² If 'the feel of life in a peasant household' was the sole objective of this project then it should be acknowledged that Barbara Hanawalt's work on peasant families in Medieval

¹ Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, xv.

² B. Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World, From the Black Death to the Industrial Age*, (Oxford 1993), 46.

England is certainly an important pre eighteenth-century study.¹ Nevertheless, Gottlieb's caution about formulating demographic assumptions from upper-class sources, though rather obvious, is still very relevant. What might make the Population Studies Group revise their findings is cautioning against the current over reliance on sources which only mention the 'settled classes'. Therefore an important finding for this work is where, in the aforementioned studies of St Cuthberts and Edinburgh, the presence was detected of a displaced under-class which could amount to one third of the total population in and around that burgh during the 1690s.²

Rarely do English or Scottish parish baptism or marriage registers include registrations for the transient. Their deaths can occur in burial registers, and the fees for such are a familiar item in kirk session accounts. As Scotland's mobile tended to migrate to urban areas, evidence of an excess of burials over baptisms in these burghs could substantiate this theory. An in depth study of baptism and burials records, where they survive, for the likes of Edinburgh or Glasgow over two centuries would involve a whole new research project, but two sources are informative. Edinburgh's baptisms are not published but the S.R.S's Greyfriars' burials show that between 1658 and 1700 around 3,260 persons designed as 'poor' were interred, some by warrant, some without. With the exception of 9 beggars, all are named including 4 strangers.³ That no 'unnamed strangers' are listed as dying in Edinburgh in 42 years, especially in the 1690s, is not credible, for Flinn shows that so many beggars had arrived that the town council was forced to erect a 'refugee camp' in Greyfriars' churchyard to house some of them.⁴ We note for example that St Cuthberts death and burial registers only exist from 1740. Edinburgh's marriage registers do however acknowledge that at least one poor stranger married in that burgh in the 105 years between 1595 and 1700:

¹ B. A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (New York and Oxford, 1986).

² This may be supported by Dingwall's findings that in 1694 at least a third of Edinburgh's population were missing, though damaged records may account for some. Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh*, 96.

³ H. Paton (ed), *Register of Interments in Greyfriars Burying-ground 1658-1700*, (S.R.S, 1902).

⁴ Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 168.

22 July 1647. William Coltherd a poor beggar and Janet Henrysone. These are two miserable persons to whom the town has no relation. But because John Neish, baker, has become caution that they shall never be chargeable to the town, there is way given to their marriage.¹

Nevertheless, firm evidence of an excess of urban deaths over baptisms is found in the O.S.A for Glasgow, where in its growth years between 1711 and 1790 there were 19,230 proclamations, 65,900 baptisms and 84,710 burials. The minister states that the (28.5 per cent) excess of deaths is due to the inclusion of persons from the suburbs.² Why did the suburban parishes of Barony, Gorbals and Govan not accept responsibility for the burial of these surplus people?³ Were they also squatting third world style? (see p 110). Cullen shows that in the 1690s Glasgow tried to stop the influx of stranger beggars from 'the exploitation of the charity it reserved for its own poor'.⁴ These potential squatters would have formed marital unions of a kind and produced offspring. Parish registers concerned primarily with the 'settled' are therefore not the only source which should be questioned, especially for the assumptions derived from them which are then utilised to form conclusions about a nation as a whole. For example, the census of Henry Compton for 1676 in the Diocese of Llandaff was recognised as a main source for estimating English and Welsh population totals in the later seventeenth century, that is until Parkinson in her recent study compared this census with the Hearth Tax figures of 1666 and 1670 for the relevant locations. In this she concluded that of the 32 parishes in question 26 omitted the poorer cottagers from the returns, thereby rendering an established source for estimating total population of little value.⁵ This is a glaring example of where certain sectors of a community were considered unaccountable.

¹ Paton, *Register of Marriages for the Burgh of Edinburgh*.

² O.S.A., VII, 302.

³ The death and burial registers for Barony, Gorbals and Govan are not extant prior to the 19th century.

⁴ Cullen, 'Famine in Scotland in the 1690s', 265-66.

⁵ E. Parkinson, 'Interpreting the Compton census returns of 1676 for the Diocese of Llandaff', *Local Population Studies*, 60, (Harrogate, 1998), 48.

Consequently if some of the presumably settled cottagers had not been deemed worthy of inclusion, then there is virtually no hope of any mobile persons, squatters or like who happened to be in Llandaff diocese at that time, being considered as accountable. Given the unlikely scenario that the whole of the Diocese of Llandaff was completely free of such unfortunates, then Parkinson is more than justified in demoting Compton's hitherto all important census.

We can appreciate Chevalier's statement that one can only work from available sources, and that much documentation (especially about those below the rank of husbandman or tenant) is no doubt fragmentary. He cites Landry's argument that with fragmentary facts one can not only produce an impression, one can create a theory. Thus it is possible to define certain major demographic rhythms containing large areas of obscurity.¹ On the other hand Ann Kussmaul also cautions against the allocating of proportions, in this case occupations; Philip Styles felt he could estimate the occupations of 40 per cent of the adult male population of Fenny Compton, Warwickshire, from returns to the Marriage Duty Act (6 & 7 Wm. and Mary, c.6), in which thirty-four were gentlemen, yeoman, husbandmen, farmers, or labourers, and nineteen were occupied in trade or crafts. But what were the other 60 per cent of the adult males doing, and what allows us to feel safe in assuming their occupations to have been distributed as were those of the registered?² On the other hand, Seccombe seems to come down against the sticklers for precise detail by first acknowledging that his survey would not have been possible without the use of the burgeoning library, created by the 'great leap forward' in computer-assisted record linkage, which has enabled swarms of graduates to produce what are primarily single parish studies. But then he argues that 'the problem with a plethora of local studies, however, is that the big picture tends to dissolve into a mass of disparate keyholes, allowing tantalizing glimpses into the interior of a great many rooms, while any coherent sense of the

¹ L. Chevalier, 'Towards a History of Population', in Glass & Eversley (eds) *Population in History* (London, 1965), 77.

² P. Styles, 'Studies in Seventeenth Century Warwickshire' (Kineton 1978), cited in A. Kussmaul, *A general view of the rural economy of England 1538-1840* (Cambridge 1990), 5.

building's architecture as a whole is lost'.¹ An objective of this chapter is to try and look more broadly than just at the people glimpsed through the keyholes of our three study areas. At this juncture it would be relevant to mention that in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England in particular, terms such as 'the people' did not however possess the all-encompassing inclusiveness which we envisage today; 'the people' were those who paid taxes and sent members to parliament.

For seventeenth and eighteenth-century British society as a whole, the possession of land, and one's place in the hierarchy pertaining to that possession, was crucial to virtually everything. Keith Wrightson in his study of 'Degrees of People' in England, cites William Harrison in 1577, and the curate of Goodnestone-next-Wingham in Kent, who wrote a century later in listing the local population, automatically divided the householders into five social categories. Wrightson explains that those who governed England at the lower levels usually included the yeomen, a class of small freeholder or substantial tenant, while husbandmen (smaller tenant farmers), artificers and labourers could be generally dismissed as having 'neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealthe'.² In this context there were fundamental differences between the English and Scottish definitions of land-ownership, especially where the former seems to have shaken off most of the vestiges of the feudal system, whereas the latter still worked within a legal framework inherited from that distant order, and in one or two locations still endeavoured to subsist in an unpropitious environment³ (Chapter 3). A freehold estate or the equivalent to the small freeholding possessed by England's yeomen depended in Scotland upon the terms of a feu charter, where all but the powerful, or fortunately placed, seemed to have a superior to whom they paid an annual feu duty. In England only in leases does one encounter an annual fee or peppercorn-rent. Scotland's feu duties were in fact only abolished as recently as 1974, although the superiors there were still able to retain the right to incorporate terms

¹ W. Secombe, *A Millennium of Family Change, Feudalism to Capitalism in Northwest Europe* (London 1992), 4-5.

² K. Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (London 1982), 17, 36.

³ K. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities* (New Haven, 2000), 184, 187.

and conditions into Scottish feu charters until 2003. Although they were few in number, perhaps the Scottish bonnet laird came nearest to possessing the unconditional freehold or substantial tenancy enjoyed by England's yeoman. This is evident in our seventeenth to eighteenth-century study period in instances where Scots with a feu charter for only a very small piece of land are still at times listed with the main parish heritors.

TIERS OF AUTHORITY.

Whether in Arundel or Auchtergaven, Truro or Tiree, the centre of communal life throughout most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the parish church, where seating arrangements invariably reflected the local social strata, with the most powerful families usually occupying the front pews. For much of the 'middling sort', the importance of their place within the hierarchy of the church seating even became a heritable matter, and a commodity. Examples of this are evident where Scottish testaments in particular abound with references and detailed specifications as to who is inheriting the deceased person's family's church seat or pew. There were of course a variety of regional differences: some Lairds would prefer to occupy the loft, where they could both avoid the gaze of their inferiors, and at the same time keep an eye on them. On the other hand, in Auchtergaven's adjoining parish of Redgorton in Perthshire the loft was built especially to accommodate those who resided in a detached western portion of that parish at Mullion.¹

Throughout Britain compulsory church attendance, church censure and the implementation of church discipline, was the first tier of local authority to pry into and direct the lives of the ordinary folk. Although the power of the local church over the lives of the congregation diminished in England following the Restoration, in Scotland the kirk session, headed by the minister and assisted by his ever watchful listening and prying elders (see pp 13-15), was to remain for many as the first and most important local court in that land until well into the late eighteenth century.²

¹ D. M. Forrester, *Logiealmond, The Place and the People* (Edinburgh, 1944), 86-90, 117-18.

² R. Mitchison & L. Leneman, *Girls in Trouble: Sexuality & social control in rural Scotland 1660-1780* (Edinburgh, 1998), 34-37.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER FINDINGS PERTAINING TO BRITAIN

In England the local landowner's deputies invariably presided over the offices of Justice of the Peace and the manorial courts. In Scotland the local magnate's bailies presided over the barony courts. In the towns and burghs of both countries the wealthier merchants tended to control the town council or burgh court offices. Along with the kirk session these local baron or manorial courts were the first rung on the ladder of authority to affect the lives of Britain's ordinary folk, although few below the rank of husbandman or tenant could afford or voluntarily have need of their services, except possibly as the victims or suspects of crime. Nevertheless, England's humbler folk are perhaps more evident proportionally among the records of these local courts than their Scottish counterparts. This apparent lack of participation by ordinary Scots in local court civil actions is probably because transactions in cash, rather than kind, had become more common in England in our study period. When Scots below the rank of tenant are mentioned in local court records it is invariably with their employer, or as the lesser relatives or witnesses for the notables of the community (see p 19).

With regard to looking for evidence of the sub-tenantry among the records of England and Scotland's higher courts, it would seem that we only encounter them when they are listed with others, who invariably are being charged either with riot or assault, or they appear in listings compiled at times of national crisis, such as the bringing of rebels and dissenters to account. An example of a useful source which mentions the appearance of some of Scotland's ordinary folk in a higher court in the late seventeenth century, is where those attending the then illegal conventicles are frequently listed in the post 1661 Registers of the Privy Council for Scotland (see pp 26-27). Although Scotland's commissary courts were open to all, the individual subtenant hardly possessed the means to utilise the services of these higher tiers of justice, unless they were compelled to do so by those courts.

POPULATION COMPARISONS

Our earlier enquiries into Wrigley and Schofield's work have shown that the demographic population boom of the sixteenth century did come to a near standstill in the next century, and by 1700, England, and perhaps Britain as a whole, was only about 9 per cent more populous than it had been in 1600. By the mid seventeenth century

birth and bastardy rates had fallen, while age at marriage and the percentage staying single rose.¹ In England this reduction is indicated as having been achieved by nuptial constraint, no doubt dictated by economic factors. Wrigley and Schofield show that in the first half of the eighteenth century there was no dramatic rebound from the demographic stagnation of the seventeenth, but explaining the post 1750 population explosion has become a major challenge in the field of modern demographic history.

Throughout Britain those squeezed off the land fled to the cities only to be decimated therein by disease. Wrigley and Schofield explain that the deficit of urban baptisms relative to burials was due to adult immigration to the towns and higher urban mortality, which acted as a drain on urban growth. The movement of people brought more into contact with new microbes and increasing mortality.² In the second half of the eighteenth century, by contrast, the growth of rural industry in Britain enabled the landless to remain in the countryside, prolonging life and boosting childbirth. Seccombe saw the expansion of labour demand in rural industry as preventing the reconvergence of birth and death rates, as the landless population exploded. To him it appeared that in the century prior to this explosion, apart from lesser fluctuations, England's rural subtenantry had not produced children any faster than others. Possibly they found it difficult to marry where local authorities made it hard for them to acquire settlement rights after 40 days.³ In Scotland 3 years was still required. But the local authorities of both nations held a fear of those whom they deemed prone to becoming a burden on the parish, as the removal of the tied cottar had become fundamental to the emergence of this landless labour force. Settlement restrictions on poorer households may indeed have reduced the population problem over time, but it also exacerbated still further the growing demographic imbalance between the settled and the mobile; still more men and women were being forced on to the roads.⁴

¹ Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, 258.

² Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, 160, 416.

³ Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 200-202, 179.

⁴ Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 141-5.

Seccombe summarises that the subtenantry's ranks thus grew primarily, and often entirely, from a stream of downwardly mobile youth who had lost in the competition for holdings. Throughout Britain after 1750 the ranks of the landless (especially its rural components) began to swell by an excess of births over deaths. When this endogenous expansion was combined with a continuing influx from the displaced, the result was a much quicker overall growth rate than that of the propertied class; intergenerational mobility had formerly been downward, from the ranks of the propertied to the propertyless. By the late nineteenth century it had been reversed.¹

With regard to the differences between the overall populations of Scotland and England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, perhaps foremost among the aforementioned scholars, Wrigley and Schofield's detailed studies have demonstrated that the fluctuations and growth in population were fairly uniform throughout this region, where the increase in the sixteenth century had been followed by a static period and even a decline in some locations in the mid seventeenth century, which in turn was followed by a gradual increase until the post 1750 population boom. As to the actual figures, unfortunately these are currently difficult to ascertain for Scotland prior to Webster's survey of 1755. In *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s*, Flinn in co-operation with Smout and Mitchison attempted an overview of the pre-Webster population figure for Scotland. He does not expand on them but Houston suggests that some of the methodological assumptions, founded no doubt on serious source problems, 'made this overview less than satisfactory'.² The absence of accurate and consistently recorded events inhibits the formulating of statistical techniques for the production of information from sixteenth and seventeenth-century Scottish material. Many marriage registers are for example simply no more than lists of proclamations, which could include couples who may never have made it to the altar. Fashion, likewise had an effect on registrations. Houston notes that clandestine marriages (not celebrated by the established church) may have accounted for a sixth

¹ Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 224-225.

² R. A. Houston, 'The population history of Britain and Ireland, 1500-1750' in M. Anderson (ed), *British Population History, From the Black Death to the present day* (Cambridge, 1996), 104.

of all marriages among those born in 1666, with a similar trend being evident in early eighteenth-century Scotland, and in the Edinburgh area in particular, when clandestine or 'irregular' marriage was common.¹

This study shows that localised listings of inhabitants exist among some burgh, court, and church records, and that listings can also come to light among estate papers. In endeavouring to derive from these sources figures which might indicate what the overall population of Scotland may have been prior to 1755, few of us would live long enough to explore all of Scotland's estate papers, in order to find gems such as the c.1650 'Names of the people and paroschinaris of Auchtergawin past the age of fyftein zeires'. It is thus understandable that Houston should state that the only reliable listings of inhabitants for Scotland before the mid eighteenth century relate to urban communities. In line no doubt with Mitchison,² the present study, and other works of Scottish history, Houston acknowledges that Webster's survey of 1755 is currently the only benchmark for Scottish population totals,³ and from Webster's findings scholars such as Mitchison have been able to provide other demographic statistics. In a summary of what Scotland's post Webster total population may have been compared to that of England, Anderson estimates that between c.1750 and c.1800 (this being the end of our period when the Industrial Revolution was well underway), Scotland possessed around 12.7 per cent of Britain's population.⁴

More significant perhaps than war to the fluctuations in the above population figures throughout Britain as a whole, were epidemics and famine. Eversley cites food prices and the information reflected by England's parish registers for demonstrating that if food is insufficient, resistance to epidemics is weakened. Malnutrition may prevent conceptions and certainly reduces the number of live births. Dearth prevents

¹ See also Irregular Marriages in R. Mitchison & L. Leneman *Girls in Trouble, Sexuality & Social Control In Rural Scotland 1660-1780* (Edinburgh, 1998), 53-71.

² Mitchison, 'Webster Revisited' in Devine (ed) *Improvement and Enlightenment*. 62-77.

³ Houston, 'The population history of Britain and Ireland', 110.

⁴ M. Anderson, 'Population change in north-western Europe' in Anderson (ed), *British Population History*, 211.

marriages and plenty encourages them.¹ In England only the crisis of 1597-98 precipitated by four bad harvests came near to being a national crisis, with that of 1623 being more restricted to the north of England. Scholars such as Bowden consider 1590-1630 as being among the most terrible years for famine through which that country ever passed.² Not since the early fourteenth century had England experienced famines worse than those of 1597 and 1623, which were only exceeded by the population losses of the Black Death. That population figures were also likely to have been affected by war and political upheavals, is particularly noticeable from the dip in the number of registrations in England's parish registers, during the Interregnum.

Civil wars, on a reduced yet equally traumatic scale for those involved, were to persist on and off in Britain until 1746, but after 1665 the plague seems to have vanished from these islands. England's recovery from the near famine of the early seventeenth century was achieved by a complex process of development, and not by the kind of straightforward reversal which might have resulted for example from a simple demographic disaster. The circle of Malthusian crisis had been overcome in England long before this was to be accomplished in our three study areas, where severe famine was experienced in the 1690s. It should however be stressed that England's recovery from the political upheavals of the mid seventeenth century had rendered permanent most of the socio-economic changes of that period. England may have become a wealthier society in 1680 than it had been a century earlier, but it was more polarized, with the ordinary folk existing under a heavier burden of permanent poverty. Wrightson observes that the poor were no longer vulnerable to mass starvation. Yet their presence in greatly enhanced numbers constituted the most visible evidence of the socio-economic changes of the period. He cites the English Hearth Tax returns of 1660 and 1670 as demonstrating that the poor, exempt from paying the tax, ranged from 23 per cent in Suffolk, to 53 per cent in some parishes of northern Essex.³ These findings tend

¹ D. E. C. Eversley, 'Population, Economy and Society', Glass & Eversley (eds) *Population in History*, 60.

² P. J. Bowden, 'Agricultural prices, farm profits, and rents', in J. Thirsk (ed), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV, 1500-1640* (Cambridge 1967).

³ Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, 147-148.

to confirm those of Gregory King, who in 1688 indicated that at least half of the population were hardly able to provide for their families. This was a situation not too dissimilar from that evident in Auchtergaven just two or three years later when 31.5 per cent of the recognised inhabitants of that parish were listed as poor (page 42).

In these population comparisons there were no precise definitions in our study period as to the exact meaning of the term 'Poor', whether unemployed, malnourished, destitute, or in receipt of poor relief. The agricultural improvements and enclosures of common land implemented in England from the late sixteenth to the mid seventeenth century had produced a society of which a massive proportion had sunk below the rank of tenant. In turn a substantial proportion of their sub-tenants or cottagers sank even further and could therefore be deemed as poor. This all before rural industrialisation had become an established feature, as in Auchtergaven, and a full century before relief from underemployment might have been provided by the advent of the Industrial Revolution. King's figure, that only 30,000 or 0.5 per cent of England's population were wandering as poor in 1688, is therefore a very questionable underestimation. King's figures in fact highlight a factor crucial for this study; this is the burgeoning evidence that substantial sections of the inhabitants of England, and Scotland, do not appear to have been eligible for listing. Given that England's late sixteenth to mid seventeenth-century agricultural changes had resulted in an increase in the recognised or settled poor, then it is most unlikely that the number that were mobile and or unaccounted for would have remained static. The significance of this comparison for our study is that the number of those who were mobile and or unaccounted for in Scotland, likewise, could hardly have remained static.

THE UNACCOUNTED FOR:

In Scotland we found that the minister's examination rolls for St Cuthberts had substantiated Dingwall's study of the 1694 Edinburgh Poll Tax which indicates that at least a third of Edinburgh's population were untaxable or missing from that survey.¹ A finding which in turn suggests that possibly just as many, residing both within and

¹ Dingwall, *Late 17th century Edinburgh*, 96.

outwith that burgh were likewise deemed unexaminable.¹ Beier's enquiries into the various causes for vagrancy in England from the late sixteenth to the mid seventeenth century also demonstrates that many thousands in that country were not likely to have been included in surveys of any kind. Those who were fit, masterless, and wandering rootless, were styled vagabonds and treated as criminals; these folk were the product of profound social dislocations and disastrous economic and demographic shifts.² We note these factors were no doubt aggravated by the agricultural changes which, as we saw in Auchtergaven, were implemented at least a century earlier in England than had been the case in Scotland. Apart from the scant evidence there was to be gleaned from the Highlands, we find no proof of displaced Scots driven to woods or fens. Therefore where Webster's and the O.S.A. population figures have been derived only from the settled, they may be a fair reflection for Scotland's rural parishes. Although transients are at times mentioned in rural kirk session records, most we found appear to have been drifting towards the towns. However, even as late as 1795 the minister of Redgorton, which adjoins Auchtergaven to the south, admits his registers are not accurate; as the poor in many cases bear children and 'bury the dead without the assistance of the sexton'.³ That in the late seventeenth century thousands of mobile persons must have been squatting in or around Edinburgh,⁴ is apparently a state of affairs which was not just confined to Scotland's capital. Beier again uses a third-world analogy when he notes that England's cities were no more immune than country areas to rootless persons who were likewise 'squatting' out-of-doors: 'late Elizabethan London sounds a great deal like twentieth century Calcutta. ...In 1605 the City magistrates took action against masterless persons spending the night in sheep-pens in West Smithfield. When God's poor lived not only like animals, but *with* them, even the most Panglossian of

¹ See chapter 4.

² Beier, *Masterless Men*, 3. - see also: Cullen, 'Famine in Scotland in the 1690s', 262-70.

³ *O.S.A.*, XI, 530.

⁴ See chapter 4.

optimists might be shocked.¹ That Wrigley and Schofield had not encountered a surplus of poor baptisms or burials is perfectly understandable in an Early-Modern period when just as in Redgorton, Auchtergaven's neighbour in Stanley, the local registers seem only to reflect the settled who could pay the sexton's fees.

Prior to the days of Seccombe's 'Great leap forward' when computer-assisted record linkage enabled an increase in the production of studies, one was perhaps prone to treating as inconsequential the fact that the population studies then available were likely to have been derived from data concerning only the examinable, taxable and the 'settled'. But in spite of modern technology the dilemma of trying to quantify the mobile or transient remains, and studies acknowledging that their findings might be qualified by such omissions are hard to locate. We are still likely to encounter conclusions from data pertaining to the settled and notable that simply do not speak for substantial sections of the populace. The time therefore is surely long overdue when the question of the 'unaccounted' should be promoted as being just as important a factor in estimating population figures, as are famine, war, and plague.

Seccombe's work also brings to our attention the presence of vast hordes who were wandering, and squatting throughout England in particular, and some of the circumstances which contributed to their plight. Under the Crown's domain, the largest forests were increasingly closed to common use. When the number of small-scale agricultural holdings began to diminish in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was harder to retreat into forest and fen than it had been in the medieval era, although many squatter communities did spring up in England during the period.² As employment in the early modern era was often seasonal and short term, it was not possible for those without a productive property to remain within a community for very long. The difference between the residentially settled and the mobile wage earner was no doubt a significant cause of antagonism, which the local state authorities persistently endeavoured to regulate. Where Gregory King's survey had estimated in 1688 that the 'vagrant' population of England was only 30,000, or just 0.5 per cent, Seccombe's

¹ Beier, *Masterless Men*, 84-85.

² Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 176-177.

opinion, similar to that derived from our St Cuthberts - Edinburgh study, is that King's figures are indeed too low; they could even be multiplied by ten and still result in a sum less than a quarter the size of the total number of cottagers and paupers, or labouring people and out servants. He also suggests that King's figure for the vagrant population is just a mere fraction of those already settled, and the semi-landless populace. In England the upper levels of society had likewise become obsessed with the growth and behaviour of the utterly destitute at the bottom of the social heap: vagabonds, rogues, masterless men and idle persons. Seccombe then cites further examples which show that the problem of the displaced and the wandering poor was, in England at least, not just a feature of the seventeenth century:

A Kent magistrate castigated vagrant and flying beggars who infect and stain the earth with pilfery, drunkenness, whoredom, bastardy, murder and infinite like mischiefs. Vagrants were not a new sight in early modern Europe, ...In part it was the obvious multiplication of their ranks and their aggressive approach to public begging. In 1594 twelve times as many beggars swarmed the streets of London as in 1517. ...Outside the cities hordes of vagabonds and journeymen, mostly young single males, roamed the countryside in search of work, alms, and poaching opportunities in unsupervised fields and woods. Settlements of squatters sprang up in forests and around the edges of commons. ...In 1573 the established residents of Feckenham Forest in Worcestershire, numbering five hundred, brought suit before the Court of Requests declaring that the population of the Forest was above five thousand people.¹

Although this example by Seccombe is primarily from the late sixteenth century, he clearly challenges King's estimate for the same by indicating that a large population of displaced persons were, by that period, a permanent factor and understated by King in the England of 1688, just as the understating of Scotland's population figures derived from the 1690s Poll Tax has already been accepted. It should be emphasised that although Beier and Seccombe submit the results of agricultural changes, which our Auchtergaven and Tiree studies show as having occurred much later in Scotland, the previous chapter still posed the question as to why up to 115,000 male Scots alone had found it necessary to emigrate between 1600 and 1650.

The amount of individual mobility encountered in the course of compiling the

¹ Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 179-180.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER FINDINGS PERTAINING TO BRITAIN

three regional studies outlined in this work tends to confirm Gottlieb's observation that the permanence and inflexibility of village populations are a part of Western mythology about tradition. There was considerable movement in town and country, not only by servants going from job to job, but also by households that broke up and settled in other villages on larger or smaller properties which had been acquired either by purchase, inheritance or rental. The poor we found (p 184) were less likely to stay put in town or country, or enjoy communal life.¹ We noted that from its earliest concepts the period of minimum residence for the receipt of benefits evidently varied, not only from country to country, but also from county to county and from city to city. In England prior to the introduction of a minimum forty day act in 1662, the minimum residence for poor relief ranged from three to five years.² In Scotland prior to a minimum three year act of 1672, the minimum qualifying periods could range from three to seven years.³ For this study these comparisons confirm that in England as in Scotland the settled poor, who could prove a period of minimum residence, had a recognised place in society and were likely to qualify for relief, whereas the transient were prone to being uprooted, marginalized, and hounded by local and state authorities alike.

FAMILY STRUCTURES AND HOUSING.

Many scholars and students of seventeenth and eighteenth-century British social history and demography are currently interested in the debate as to whether families residing within the average household were mostly 'nuclear families', 'extended families', or 'stem families'. The nuclear family is that which is most common in the households of the Western World today: i.e. parents with children. Extended families can include in linear fashion some brothers and sisters of the nuclear couple, and possibly their spouses and some of their children. The stem family is envisaged as containing eldest son, his wife and some of their children, extending at times to three

¹ Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World*, 40.

² At Terling in Essex 'charity excluded all poor who had not been settled residents for five years', Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, 181.

³ Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830*, 280-281.

generations, where the founding couple or their surviving spouse appear to reside in a patriarchal or matriarchal role. The c.1650 Auchtergaven and St Cuthberts rolls show some examples of each. Expatriates can be forgiven for envisaging that clans consisting of long stem and widely extended family systems were the norm in Scotland. To this day many would be surprised to hear that this could not be further from the truth. Stem and extended family systems may indeed have been prominent in parts of the far north and west, but the paucity of documentation for that region does not readily provide instances without resorting to a localised study of sparse source material. In Auchtergaven as in Edinburgh, the majority of our early-modern forebears are unlikely to have resided in a stem or extended family system, spoken Gaelic, or worn the tartans now adopted as the symbols of a national identity. Gottlieb argues that no matter how far back we go, the nuclear family household was extremely common in the Western world and overwhelmingly preponderant in Britain. In southern Europe there was a mixture of nuclear and extended family households, with instances of stem family households evident in parts of France, Germany and Austria. Even in Britain until quite recent times, the remains of stem family household were seen where granny was still living as an integral part of the family. The origins of the stem family pattern were likely to have been rural, as it was usually associated with a sizeable amount of property and with the inheritance of land in one piece. 'Nowhere was it a universal pattern, ...the stem was the main line of inheritance, so that the children who were not heirs to the land had to set up nuclear households when they married'.¹

Any repeated historical references to 'family' inevitably call for an explanation of the word in the context of the period to which it is meant to apply, especially as the concepts of household and family tend to overlap. 'Family' originates from the Latin for servant *famulus*, the live-in domestic staff. In 1755 Samuel Johnson's dictionary gives the word as being a synonym for household. Gottlieb cites Samuel Pepys in the seventeenth century as noting in his diary that 'I lived in Axe yard, having my wife and a servant Jane, and no more in family than us three'.² Our studies of the listings of the

¹ Gottlieb, *Family in the Western World*, 12-15.

² Gottlieb, *Family in the Western World*, 7.

inhabitants in Auchtergaven and Tiree parishes indicate that most of those noted as tenants seem to have had servants, and some tradesman an apprentice. Also - to confuse matters for the family historian - master and servant could be related, especially in humbler households where youngsters were often learning about an occupation from a relative, no doubt on mutually affordable terms. Consequently for the purposes of this study we refer to 'households' as likely to include non-relatives, and 'family' as being blood and marital relatives. Well into the late nineteenth century the term 'servant' in England, as in Scotland, was quite synonymous with our present use of the word 'employee', and did not possess some of the menial connotations envisaged today. Even a gentleman could say that the education for his office was derived while in service to another more experienced in his field. Dingwall's work contains a number of such examples among Edinburgh's legal servants.¹

In an agricultural society it can be envisaged that the majority of Britain's youths were live-in servants (employees) at any point in the first half of the eighteenth century. But the transformation of agricultural production methods meant that in southern England in particular, by the second half of the eighteenth century, live-in servants were being increasingly replaced by day labourers and hired hands. Farmers were removing the means whereby youths could be placed without their parents having to maintain them. Nevertheless, the labour demands of a growing Industrial Revolution must also have facilitated the release of thousands of young people from an institution of living-in, which had curtailed them from contemplating marriage before their mid twenties. As early as 1976 Anderson established that a shift of one-fifth of the farm labour force from live-in service to day labour would have increased marital fertility by 6 per cent in the agricultural areas. The unprecedented acceleration in population growth in the late eighteenth century was therefore affected by the change in the labour force from live-in servants to day labourers, whether rural or urban.²

In comparison this change from live-in servant to day labourer did not reach northern England or most of Scotland until the early nineteenth century. Evidence of

¹ Dingwall, *Late 17th century Edinburgh*, 186, 188.

² M. Anderson, 'Marriage Patterns in Victorian Britain', *Journal of Family History*, vol.1 (1976), 76.

this change is however seen in Auchtergaven as early as the 1780s (see pp 63-65). Therefore two different labour recruitment structures emerged in British agriculture. Hasbach had dismissed these northern regions where farm service was still paid in kind, as 'conservative' and lagging behind the south. This Devine counters by explaining that in southern England there was an increasing population wherein agricultural labour was surplus to requirements, whereas Scotland's farmers were glad to house and keep their labourers as the farmer had to contend with strong and persistent competition for labour from industry.¹ In Lowland areas located near to Scotland's expanding industrialised central belt, such as Auchtergaven, there were for example many opportunities for the rural population to move to a variety of urban occupations (see pp 64-66).

As a result of the late sixteenth to seventeenth-century changes in agricultural production methods, England's mobile families in particular were subject to pressures, and transformations, especially of expectations, which previous generations had not experienced. These families were no longer tied to the transmission of rights to property. Consequently a great divide was developing between those who were still 'settled', though more reliant on cottage industry and working for others, and the less secure 'proletariat', urban or otherwise, whose only possession was their labour, with which they had to compete against the 'settled' for the same work. In contrast to Scotland the 40 day settlement rule of 1662 was utilised to keep many of the transients moving, as Justices of the Peace and the local authorities endeavoured to repress vagrancy, the harbouring of pauper inmates, and the erection of squatter dwellings which lacked the statutory four acres; an array of national laws and local by-laws were enforced in order to deflect the mobile families from becoming a local tax burden. But these social transformations can also be seen as eventually providing a balance. Feudalism had indeed fostered extrusion where younger siblings moved *downward* through disinheritance. Under industrial capitalism however, Secombe sees the trend as reversed; the displaced young moved to the cities for work, and subsequently *upwards* as urban working-class standards gradually improved. He is of the opinion that this perspective stands in stark contrast to the Cambridge Group's nuclear family

¹ Devine (ed), *Farm servants and labour in Lowland Scotland*, 2-3.

continuity thesis, propounded initially in *Household and Family in Past Time*, wherein the first pillar of the continuity thesis is mean household size, aggregated across all phases of the family cycle.

The Group and their research associates found that the mean size of co-resident groups remained remarkably constant at about 4.75 persons per household across Northwestern Europe from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century. Peter Laslett speculated that this 'might cover the Middle Ages as well'. The second pillar is household composition; the predominant co-resident group was found to be simple and nuclear, undergoing no alteration in the course of urbanization and industrialization. ...More recently, the Cambridge scholars have grown uneasy with their reputation for depicting domestic arrangements over the centuries in an unduly static fashion.

Seccombe is arguing that because youths were now driven to the labour market, and the support for the elderly was no longer secured by the latter's control of heritable or tenured property, retirement contracts and rights of inheritance became moot - this he defines as the basis for the shift from the stem family to the nuclear family form.¹ For generations Scotland's younger sons had also looked elsewhere, and our case study of rural Auchtergaven (pp 58-74) indicates that with the agricultural changes whole families were indeed likely to have moved to the labour markets and create nuclear families. In contrast to England however these changes occurred later in Scotland coinciding, we note, with the advent of rural and urban industrialisation; therefore in Scotland's rural locations the stem family system was likely to have persisted for some time, especially among the families of the eldest sons of tenant rank and above.

With regard to the sources that are likely to tell us about families, echoing Gottlieb, Wrightson rightly warns against deriving assumptions about the mass of the population from the profuse collections of wills, deeds and testaments that are preserved from the various courts, as documentation of this nature invariably pertain to the upper and middle classes only.² Many an amateur family historian for example mistakenly adopts a person for whom there is documentation, simply because that

¹ Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 234-236.

² Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, 71.

person happens to have the relevant name and is at the location anticipated. It should however be remembered from our preceding study of the inhabitants of the Obneys in Auchtergaven, that in what are primarily farm town locations, there may have been as many as three or four others who not only had the same surname, but also the same first name. These were potential cousins, but because most of these folk were below the rank of tenant, little if any documentation was likely to have existed for them, with the possible exception of the church registers. Lists of inhabitants do survive for parts of seventeenth and eighteenth-century England and Scotland, which indicate that most family households throughout Britain in that period were indeed nuclear, although as we saw in our examination rolls, by name association some households seem to include an elderly relative or a brother or sister of the nuclear couple. In the households of those of tenant rank and above, servants are usually evident, and the latter tend to increase in number in keeping with the status of the household. In Scottish testaments and sasines (land registrations) involving many of the wealthier households, a grandparent can be seen as reserving a 'liferent' often originating from their marriage contract, for the proceeds and partial occupation of the property. Which liferent, as the word indicates, meant that they were to be secured in their provisions for life.

As for the humbler dwellings the 'but and ben', or two roomed cottage or croft long utilised by some of the more 'settled' Scots, sounds almost palatial compared to the shocking accommodation which some of their English and European neighbours endured, especially as a result of the socio-economic trends of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In England these trends had brought about a process of 'social polarisation' reflected in the housing of families. Wrightson observes that whereas the period saw the erection of grander mansions by landowners and urban patricians and the rebuilding and refurnishing of the homes of the yeomanry and master craftsmen, it also saw a mushroom growth of bare cottages for the poor in country parishes and the emergence of squalid overcrowded pauper suburbs in the towns.¹ A house meant no more than four walls and a roof, covering, by present standards, the space of an average living room. Although household size and structure in parts of the Scottish Lowlands

¹ Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, 140.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER FINDINGS PERTAINING TO BRITAIN

were similar to those in England, the majority of Scottish houses were in fact smaller and not so well furnished. For those below the rank of tenant in the early modern period the timbers were transportable and evidence of foundations has often biodegraded. Even most of Scotland's tenant farmers had yet to possess or utilise the basic household goods such as crockery and cutlery which had become commonplace in many parts of England. Relevant perhaps in many respects is that until the 1760s incomes and wage levels throughout most of Britain had remained constant, thereby restricting consumer demand for anything beyond subsistence needs, in both town and country.¹

Accommodation in the cities was not any better than that of the countryside, and certainly was not any healthier. Throughout western Europe urban apartment houses had become a traditional feature in towns and burghs that wished to build properties upwards, within the comparative safety of the city walls. Edinburgh still possesses five to six storey examples which survive from the sixteenth century. Whether in town or in the country, most lived and slept in extremely close proximity to each other. Sharing a bed with a relative was normal, just as it was to share a bed with a stranger at an inn. Hence privacy was as much about culture as space available; the wealthy may have slept alone, but they often had a servant in the same room or just outside the door. The tenement owners considered the first floor the best location, letting the ground floor to shopkeepers and the higher floors to the less well off, in ascending order.

THE CHURCH AND INDIVIDUALS:

In the pre Reformation Christian church some masses were established not only for the soul of the recently deceased, but also for all of the ancestors of a particular house, which by the sixteenth century was seen as one of the causes for reform. In post Reformation England and perhaps more so in Scotland, most preserved the memory of their immediate forebears through the naming patterns which they afforded to their children. Why after 1660 a distinct Anglican church developed in England and after 1690 Scotland opted to keep a Presbyterian established church, is a field of study only partly associated with our investigations. As far as most of the ordinary folk were

¹ Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830*, 34.

concerned the influence and intrusions of the respective churches on and into their lives, was not all that dissimilar, except perhaps when it came to the provision of poor relief, which is examined in greater detail later in this chapter.

Outside the very highest ranks of society, where the right dynastic and property ties were deemed crucial, there is little, if any, evidence of arranged marriages; most appear to have chosen their own partners,¹ although through the church the local authorities were very wary of any loose sexual behaviour among the lower orders, which was often referred to in Scotland's kirk session minutes as 'improper carriage', a term which seemed to anticipate immorality or fornication. Church discipline was justified as an instrument for the correction of all aspects of ungodliness, but in practice it could also be interpreted as being a mere deterrent against conduct which could lead to the single mother in particular becoming a burden on the parish. Throughout Scotland the kirk session minutes of both the established and seceder churches seem to reflect an obsession with the details of cases involving fornicators, which to many a modern layman borders upon being a nationally sanctified perversion. Mitchison and Leneman verify that one reason for such comprehensive examples among the kirk session minutes is that the Scottish Church in the early modern period was engrossed by the sexual irregularities of its flock; 'indeed it seems at times to have thought of little else. It evinced extreme distaste for any show of physical intimacy between the sexes outwith marriage, and would penalise any such scandalous carriage'.² Those party to a bridal pregnancy were subject to a penance for what was deemed the 'heinous crime of antenuptial fornication',³ while in England such occurrences were more widely tolerated. Nevertheless, the economic fears of England's unmarried pregnant woman were just as strong, but she did not have to face the public shame which was almost inevitable in Scotland; her embarrassment would be confined to those living

¹ Gottlieb, *Family in the Western World*, 62-63.

See also; P. Laslett, *The World we have lost , further explored*, (Cambridge, 1983), 100.

² Mitchison & Leneman, *Girls in Trouble*, 1-2.

³ Laslett, *The World we have lost , further explored*, 170-171.

near or immediately related to her.¹ For the mothers of bastards, however, there was widespread intolerance in both countries. These women were brought before the church not only to do penance for their ungodliness, but also for questioning to establish paternal liability. A feature common to Auchtergaven, St Cuthberts, Edinburgh and Tiree's kirk session minutes is where the minister and his elders' lust for details seems to far exceed that required to verify paternity, even after the unfortunate girl had already confessed to the essential. Instances were also not uncommon of women in their childbed being refused assistance by the midwives until they declared who the child's father was. It would seem that the latest developments in a local scandal were likely to be the only dramatic diversion for some tedious lives.

Leneman attributes a huge rise in divorce in late eighteenth-century Scotland to the increasing economic independence of women through employment in industry, and rising levels of adultery due to wartime dislocations.² Although it is somewhat outwith our period, it should be mentioned that with regard to the early nineteenth century the same scholar seems to modify her earlier observation, where Pearson in his review of periodical literature indicates that, compared to England, Scottish divorce rates 'remained low', and cites Leneman as interpreting this as evidence of the widespread 'modern' acceptance of cohabitation without marriage.³

For reasons currently unexplained, Scotland's Presbyterian church seemed to hold a greater sway and command more obedience from its congregations, possibly because adherence to church discipline was, until 1845,⁴ indirectly linked to rights to welfare. Mitchison explains that although it was originally set up as a copy of the Poor Law of Elizabethan England, the Scottish Poor Law grew in a very different way. In

¹ Mitchison & Leneman, *Girls in Trouble*, 102.

² L. Leneman, 'Disregarding the matrimonial vows, divorce in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scotland' *Journal of Social History*, 30 (Winter 1996), 465-82.

³ R. Pearson, 'Review of Periodical Literature' *EcHR*, LI, 1, (1998), 176. reviewing L. Leneman, 'English marriages and Scottish divorces in the early nineteenth century' (*J. Legal Hist.*, 17, 225-43)

⁴ In fact the transfer from kirk session to secular boards began before 1845, but in 1845 the Board of Supervision was erected to supervise the provisions of the Poor Law, wherein since the sixteenth century the responsibility for a pauper had rested with his or her parish of origin.

Scotland the administration of the law was not the responsibility of local government but, by default, of the Church. Various aided and hindered by the landed classes and their lawyers, effective resistance to the payment of property rates meant that poor relief in Scotland relied heavily on charitable giving. Mitchison saw the Church of Scotland as torn between the impulse to charity and its Presbyterian belief in independence and personal responsibility.

The landowners combined a fear of land-tax with a concern for social order and a wish to appear open-handed. The poor themselves consisted of a more-or-less constant number of disabled, blind, very young and very old, and a much larger population - one third or more of the whole - living near the edge of poverty and which could, through war, fire, famine or disease be tipped into destitution.¹

In England by comparison compulsory assessment involving a local authority had to all intents become the norm, although a recent study by Evans of poor relief in early modern Exeter enabled him to argue that 'private giving' contributed yearly eighteen per cent more in relief than that provided by the civic corporation.²

Wrightson notes that the sanctions available to England's ecclesiastical judges were weak. They could enjoin penance or excommunication, but they had little coercive power; citations to appear before the court, and excommunication sentences were often ignored. In the seventeenth century in particular the common people of England had a truculent resistance to the demands of radical reformers among the clergy, born not of ignorance but of resentment of their cultural aggression, reinforced by a long tradition of anti-clericalism not equalled in Scotland. This was perhaps because Scottish poor relief was still a matter for the church and not the local authority. Therefore it was not solely the Presbyterian zeal, or fire and brimstone, which the ordinary English disliked, but a resentment of clerics which possibly dated back to the Reformation, and beyond. Wrightson cites the example of a Wiltshire girl resentful of her minister's action against sports and games, and his enthusiasm for catechizing,

¹ R. Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland, The experience of Poverty, 1574-1845* (Edinburgh, 2000). 1, 15-16, 67, 226-227.

² C. S. Evans, "An Echo of the Multitude": the intersection of governmental and private property initiatives in early modern Exeter', in *Albion*, vol 32 (Boone N.C. 2000), 408-28.

describing his sermons in 1624 as ‘such a deale of bibble babble that I am weary to heare yt and can then sitt downe in my seat and take a good napp’.¹

Martin Ingram is perhaps less scathing about England’s ecclesiastical courts when arguing that although the courts had weaknesses, many of the defects were characteristic of early modern justice in general rather than of the church courts in particular, while the remainder were less acute than has often been supposed. Ecclesiastical justice was neither exceptionally expensive or unusually dilatory; ‘while evidence of egregious corruption or abnormal partiality is slight. Rather more common were episodes of administrative slackness, sometimes accompanied by a certain amount of low-level venality.’² Ingram does nevertheless acknowledge that after the Restoration, England’s ecclesiastical tribunals had been profoundly affected by what had happened between 1641 and 1660. They were as ill-adapted to eliminate Protestant dissent as they were to eradicate Catholic recusancy. Ultimately the declaration of indulgence of 1687 and the toleration act of 1689 were to prove well-nigh mortal blows for the disciplinary work of England’s established church. That discipline in Scotland’s established church was far better heeded for most of the eighteenth century may indeed have been supported by the fact that unlike the Anglican Church, the established Church of Scotland held the purse strings for the settled few who may have been entitled to welfare and benefits. Subsequently those in our study areas or beyond who were under the threat of excommunication, or out of favour with the minister or the local elder, were hardly likely to receive a generous handout from the poor box.

ECONOMIC AND LEGAL FACTORS.

Similarities between English and Scottish economic and legal systems are evident as early as the sixteenth century. Initially the concept of welfare relief at the parish level was a credit to both nations, but a less salubrious development in both countries was where the medieval church tithes (teinds in Scotland), had become a commercial commodity. In 1585 Archbishop Whitgift reckoned that only some 600 of

¹ Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, 202, 211, 218-219.

² M. Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1987), 364, 372-74.

England's 9,000 livings were adequate for the proper support of an educated minister. The problem was, as we saw in St Cuthberts (p 116), that the tithes or teinds had been impropriated by laymen (62.6 per cent in the province of York and 40 per cent in the province of Canterbury) who enjoyed considerable revenues from them but only left a pittance for the minister or vicar.¹ Also common throughout Britain in the period is the way that debt and credit transactions were rarely controlled by specialist money lenders. Some British banks boast of a lineage from the late seventeenth century. This may be so but seldom, if ever, were they concerned with the activities of the mass of the population. By the late nineteenth century a growing number of Britain's middling sort possessed the means to use banks, but not until the second half of the twentieth century did the ordinary folk throughout Britain begin to utilise their services.

Much of the documentation which survives from the Scottish and English courts up to the sixteenth century is concerned with disputes over the possession, rental and boundaries of land.² But by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the actions in these courts are increasingly preoccupied with debt and credit transactions between individuals, or with the heirs to the debtor's property. Wrightson cites a study of 4,650 probate inventories from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Norfolk in the period 1650-1720, in which Holderness noted some 40 per cent listed debts, often unpaid rents or bills, owed to the testator, a finding which received support from Margaret Spufford's research on debt and credit in the Cambridgeshire villages in the latter sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of those lending money particular categories of people stand out - widows, single people, professional men and gentlemen, and 'it is also clear that the same people were often borrowers. In the absence of developed banking facilities, it appears that people with spare money were ready to lend to neighbours, knowing that they would borrow in their turn, when the need arose.'³

In Scotland the procedure was not too dissimilar for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and here the gentry were not adverse to borrowing from whoever

¹ Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, 207.

² Sanderson, *A Kindly Place*, 187-91.

³ Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, 52.

had the means, irrespective of their social standing. Evidence for such is found in Scotland's Commissariat Testaments.¹ The 'in' designation after a person's name listed in the indexes to these testaments could give the impression that testaments included all social groups. However a similar in-depth study such as Wrightson's, could show that most 'in' a rural location also qualified to appear as tenants in rentals, and most 'in' an urban location qualified for local tax rolls. Ebenezer Fennick (b 1746-) sometime in Tullibeltoun, Auchtergaven then in Perth, and William his brother (1750-1828) sometime in Dalpowie then mason in Perth, may not from their designations appear to be of any consequence, but research showed that both had been tenants. William had progressed to own several properties in Perth, and Ebenezer became the tacksman of the tolls for the old bridge there.² Few below the rank of rural tenant or urban craftsmen appear in these court transactions; primarily because their only asset was their labour, many credit and debt arrangements between Scotland's ordinary folk involved payments in kind. On the other hand Craig Muldrew shows that England's ordinary folk were more likely to appear in local court actions, and this again was mostly because of debts. These debts seem to have been created by urban tradesmen who were so 'desperate' to survive within the market places generated perhaps by England's far greater population, that they often provided credit to those who could ill-afford any form of security. In many inventories and accounts the English assessors, then as now, divided the debts into three categories: 'good' were the secure, 'sperate' were doubtful book or noted debts, and 'desperate' of which there was little chance of recovery. 'Judgement for credit was not simply directed against declining middling sort households; it was also directed against the great mass of poorer households which had never been wealthy and had little chance of advancing to any great extent, ...it was such households who were most likely to default on their debts because the scarcity of work meant their incomes were irregular and unpredictable.'³

¹ See Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh*, 113-115.

² GD121/1/28/157-63 and GD121/38/212-15. Also B59/8. Perth & Kinross Archives.

³ C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998), 175-176, 303.

England experienced bad harvests near famine and lean years in the 1620s and Scotland experienced 'Ill years' in the 1690s, and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century the land, and one's place in it, remained everything. The lord, or lairds in Scotland such as Nairn, Grandtully, or more likely the factors of Atholl and Argyll, invariably had a say in where and when certain crops were planted, when and how many days of the year the tenant was then obliged to work the proprietor's land, also where the tenant was to have his corn ground. But crucial for Anglo-Scottish comparisons in our period is where the agricultural improvements and enclosures, and the traumatic displacements arising therefrom, occurred earlier in much of southern and central England. In this respect the Scots do indeed seem to have been more fortunate. With the possible exception of the much publicised sudden Highland Clearances of the nineteenth century, most of the improvements appear to have been introduced by Scotland's estate owners, gradually,¹ to the extent that the process was not really completed in the better farming areas, until the mid to late eighteenth century. Therefore those who were potentially landless were likewise dispersed gradually, with, as we noted in Auchtergaven, many being absorbed by the incessant labour demands of the then rapidly expanding Industrial Revolution.

As far back as 1655 Samuel Hartlib seems to have recognised this, in arguing that enclosures need not cause depopulation as long as two conditions were met: first, there must be an outlet for the manufactures of the locality's workers who were newly surplus because of the agricultural improvements; and secondly, there must be a good supply of grain into the region, to feed it.² These criteria appear to have been met with the founding of no less than 85 planned industrial villages in Scotland between 1700 and 1815,³ such as the cotton mill examined in chapter 2, which was built in 1784 on the boundary of Auchtergaven and Redgorton parishes at Stanley.⁴

¹ E. Richards, *The Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh, 2000), 32.

² Samuel Hartlib, 'His Legacie', (London, 1655), 44, cited in A. Kussmaul, *A general view of the rural economy of England 1538-1840* (Cambridge, 1993), 147-149.

³ Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland 1660-1815*, 40.

⁴ See chapter 3 on Auchtergaven parish.

It is becoming an intriguing matter for academic debate as to whether the Industrial Revolution occurred at a time convenient for absorbing the growing number of underemployed in Scotland because of agricultural improvements, or whether these folk did in fact instigate both the rural and urban Industrial Revolutions. However, although a diversion into a tantalising debate about the origins of Britain's famed Industrial Revolution undoubtedly has numerous attractions for the late eighteenth century, at this juncture the more pressing question is that of the underemployed in seventeenth-century England in particular. What portion of that nation's swelling population, reliant on wage income and divorced from the land, was subsisting utterly propertyless and lacking any domestic means of production?

Secombe also addresses these questions for the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by recording the proportion of holdings beneath a minimum threshold of self-sufficiency, in order to obtain an estimate of those needing supplementary income; and as a comparison, Everitt reckoned that peasant labourers living on five acres or less made up a quarter to a third of the entire population of England in Tudor and early Stuart times. King's debatable survey of 1688 had estimated labouring people and out servants as 23 per cent of the English population:

cottagers and paupers at 24 per cent, while another 3 per cent were freeholders of a lesser sort. Together, these strata comprised half of the entire population. ...within the burgeoning ranks of the small holders, those with the least land were multiplying most rapidly. On a sample of forty-three English manors before 1560, cottagers with just one garden comprised 11 per cent of all tenants holding less than six acres; by 1600-10, their proportion had risen to 35 per cent.¹

Though the numbers displaced in King's survey in 1688 are hardly credible, we seldom discard a seventeenth-century source when, as so often, it is the only one available for the period. However it would not be untoward to consider that King is only talking about the 'settled' cottagers, labourers and paupers. As most work was seasonal the labouring poor, settled or otherwise, had to rely upon a variety of employments. Considering what little land even the settled households had at their

¹ A Everitt, 'Farm Labourers' in J Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol 4 (Cambridge, 1967), 398, 402.

disposal, the degree of self-sufficiency, whether in a rural or urban location, was quite remarkable, although invariably it was bare subsistence. Houses in most towns had gardens and sheds which housed pigs and chickens. We see in Edinburgh's parish records and from the later census returns, that the occupation of 'cowfeeder' is still evident in that burgh in the mid nineteenth century. Further up the social scale more and more of the landlords were beginning to live off cash rents, although payments in kind persisted in rural areas, well into the late eighteenth century.

Also declining throughout England was the concept of 'customary tenure' and in Scotland the 'kindly tenancy'. These are best explained as being holdings where the landlord had been in the custom of allowing a tenancy, with rights, to be inherited through kinship. In many instances these tenancies were likely to have originated as grants to the lesser members of the landowner's own family. But in both countries these properties had begun to acquire an enhanced commercial value, and any ancient obligations or remaining degrees of kinship between the proprietor and the tenant's family was becoming more remote as each generation passed. In Scottish petitions to retain the seldom documented rights that were assumed to be an integral part of what hitherto had been a 'kindly tenancy', the potential tenant would claim in terms which were virtually a standard formulary, that his family had been entitled to certain rights 'since tyme beyond ye memorie of man'. In general however customary tenures were by the eighteenth century falling away through a process of attrition and default, rather than through a policy of direct assaults by the landowners. Thompson explains how the new mortgages of the eighteenth century enticed the small tenant into a wider and more ruthless money market, quite outwith his expertise. In England an alert manorial owner who wished to bring tenures back into his own hands could take advantage of the same situation by granting and foreclosing mortgages upon his own copyholds:

by such means the St Johns of Dogmersfield managed in the years after the South Sea Bubble to lose a village and turn much of it into deer-park. In this case some of the tenants seem to have resorted to arson, to the shooting of cattle and the felling of trees. But so far as one can see they were victims not of forced dispossession but of 'fair' economic process, of good lawyers, and of the debt incurred by the Bubble.¹

¹ E. P. Thompson (ed) with Jack Goody and Joan Thirsk, *Family and Inheritance, Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800* (Cambridge, 1976), 347.

As a potential comparison, one is tempted to speculate as to whether those of Scotland's landowners who had lost substantial sums in the Darien Scheme may also have resorted to such practices against their kindly tenants in order to recoup their losses. Likewise a similar point could perhaps be made in relation the widespread distress caused by the collapse of the Ayr bank in 1772, but there is no evidence of this in the works of scholars of the period such as Devine, Dodgshon or Whyte. One factor in this period is certain, on a far grander scale the earls of Argyll appear to have been quite accomplished in buying up the debts of others, in order to expand their estates in the west of Scotland.¹ Nevertheless, although diminishing in number, where the impact of agricultural improvements and enclosures had yet to be fully implemented, cottagers still eked out an existence through rights to common grazing, stone quarries, and the woods; for fuel, building materials, and small game. The Scottish Sheriff Court records of the eighteenth century abound with cases against 'woodcutters', where the landlords were contesting the perceived ancient rights of their tenantry, kindly or otherwise.²

The seventeenth-century agricultural improvements in England had gradually facilitated the move from subsistence to commercial farming, with specialisation becoming more evident in particular regions by the eighteenth century. Increasing specialisation had in turn increased trade, for as De Vries put it, 'one cannot live on butter, cheese, and cabbage alone; and one cannot live on hemp, madder flax, and coleseed at all'.³ Mark Overton's work on England's agricultural revolution highlights that even in the period of low grain prices between 1650 and 1750, East Anglia was situated in the best agricultural and geographical position to profit from growing more cereals, especially barley, and Overton actually finds a four-fold increase in its acreage between 1660 and 1730.⁴ Ann Kussmaul draws heavily on the study of baptisms,

¹ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart 1603-1788*, chapters 2-4.

² F. Watson, 'Need versus greed? Attitudes to woodland management on a central Scottish Highland estate, 1630-1740', in Charles Watkins (ed) *European Woods and Forests. Studies in Cultural History*, CAB (Wallingford, 1998), 135-155. Also: GD112, GD50, and Killin Processes SC49/6a/3. all at N.A.S.

³ Jan De Vries, *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700* (New Haven, 1974), 164.

⁴ M. Overton, *Agricultural revolution in England: the transformation of the agrarian economy, 1500-1850* (Cambridge, 1996), 92.

marriages, and ages at marriage which are contained in England's parish registers, together with the sample's foundation set employed by Wrigley and Schofield, in order to arrive at some very detailed and statistically-based conclusions about the economies of a number of England's rural regions.¹ She calculates that East Anglia was becoming more arable and labour-intensive, and was therefore experiencing labour shortages, while the western regions which were turning from grain to rearing, found themselves with labour surpluses. Kussmaul then cites no fewer than nine authorities for showing that the one binding issue for displacements had been the association of enclosures with depopulation, ranging in the early sixteenth century (just before the start of marriage registration) from More's sheep 'so wild they devour humans themselves' on to the reminders by Hartlib (1655) and Yarranton (1677) that enclosure saw 'a boy and his dog' displace ten plough teams and forty workers, through to our on-going late twentieth (and twenty-first) century's debates.² Another issue Kussmaul addresses is the flexibility or rigidity of the open-field practices, but her study of the marriage seasons she saw as making little, if any, contributions to these debates.

These investigations are indicating that as far back as the early seventeenth century, the west of England was experiencing the beginnings of an agricultural transition which was to culminate, in a perhaps far more publicised sense, with the Scottish 'Clearances' of the early nineteenth century. On the other hand in the same period, parts of the English Midlands were evidently not waiting for the late eighteenth century and the advent of the Industrial Revolution to relieve their underemployment. Kussmaul notes that this recently arable region had by the turn of the seventeenth to eighteenth century become a tricolour patchwork of industrial, arable, and pastoral local specialisations.³ She cites W. Court's observations on the West Midlands which could be interpreted as being an early indication, or precursor, of the transformation which was to change part of the English Midlands into the Black Country of the Industrial Revolution, as it became more and more a strung-out web of iron-making

¹ A. Kussmaul, *A general view of the rural economy of England 1538-1840* (Cambridge, 1993), 46-49.

² all cited in Kussmaul, *A general view of the rural economy of England*, 94, 146.

³ Kussmaul, *A general view of the rural economy of England*, 150.

villages, market towns next door to collieries, heaths and wastes gradually and very slowly being covered by the cottages of nailers and other persons carrying out industrial occupations in rural surroundings.¹ Similarities with Scotland can be seen here with the gradual industrialisation of that country's central belt, especially in north Lanarkshire and eastern Renfrewshire, although once again these transformations cannot be said to have been occurring in Scotland as early as the seventeenth century. Likewise in seventeenth-century England some northern counties were specialising in the cloth trade, which together with coal mining, was from the late eighteenth century onward, to become a feature of industry in Lancashire and parts of south Yorkshire. This cloth trade was developing through the putting-out system. Seccombe notes that by the eve of the Industrial Revolution, merchants ended up owning the cottager's means of production, supplying them with raw materials and setting quotas for their work. In this putting-out system, domestic producers became proletarians who were eventually working for a piece-rate wage.²

The growth of national markets in England served the gentry, merchants and yeomen well, and as a result the 'middling sort' began to move closer to the rural and urban elite, in both interests and life-style. However, for the smaller husbandmen for whom rising rents cancelled out profits, it was a time of chronic insecurity with their holdings being 'engrossed' into fewer and fewer hands as more and more of them, failing to make ends meet, were cast out to join the ranks of those seeking wage labour. Laslett makes some interesting analogies when he observes that the trouble was not so much unemployment as underemployment, and once more a comparison is made with the third world countries of Asia and elsewhere in the twentieth century. The famines in Scotland and France of the 1690s he had likened to that of Bengal in 1943, where food was not short but too expensive, because the authorities had insisted that the taxes still had to be paid.³ The resistance to the agricultural improvements in England lasted

¹ W. H. B. Court, 'The rise of the Midland Industries, 1600-1838 (London 1953), cited in Kussmaul, *A general view of the rural economy of England 1538-1840*, 142.

² Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 181.

³ Laslett, *The World we have lost, further explored*, 34, 128.

longest in the loosely controlled forest and fen areas, but as might be expected, such terrain was less likely to lend itself to immediate innovations. Wrightson found that even in these locations, issues had been largely settled by 1660 and the Restoration, in favour of the 'improvers'. This was possibly consolidated by the desire for stability following the Interregnum, though in some places resistance spluttered on well into the eighteenth century. For example in many rural locations, the gradual decline of the small tenantry left that society increasingly polarized between two groups. On one side there were the large yeoman farmers who now held most of the commonable land. Previously these leaders of local society identified themselves with their neighbours, but they had learnt that their best interests lay with enclosure and improvement and realigned themselves with the gentry accordingly. On the other hand were the swelling ranks of the agricultural labourers who had lost both their stake in the land and the ability to take effective common action. 'Nor were they in any position, dependent as they were upon the good offices of the farmers for employment, housing and poor relief, to oppose piecemeal enclosures by agreement among their betters'.¹

In the far north west of Scotland a similar and well documented resentment resulting from a less gradual introduction of improvements, was experienced 150 years later, where once again the mostly mountainous and peat-bogged terrain could hardly be considered as conducive to the concept of agricultural improvements; but after many recriminations these transformations came to pass even in that remote fastness, where what little arable land there was, was 'Cleared' and became grazing, mostly for sheep.²

BRITAIN'S POOR.

Evidently the concept of who was deemed 'Poor' in seventeenth and eighteenth century Britain, very much depended up on the subjective view of those who had compiled the surviving documentation pertain to their plight. The kirk session or the burgh council may have considered the 'Poor' as only being those who were legally

¹ Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, 180, 228.

² An economic background and prelude to the 'Highland Clearances' is provided by R. A. Dodgshon, in *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c.1493-1820* (Edinburgh, 1998).

entitled to be claim benefits from them, with all others being dismissed as vagabonds or randy beggars.¹ Commenting on the period, Laslett qualifies his analogy that pre-industrial England resembles a present-day Third World society, by stating it does not follow from this that the incidence of births, marriages and deaths was the same in Britain in the past as it is now with those third world countries, any more than the age of marriage has been the same.² Other aspects of his analogy do however contain more truths than one may care to contemplate. Dingwall's study of the 1690s Edinburgh Poll Tax indicated that a third of the population could be unaccounted for, and they are not evident in that burgh's local tax rolls. One can indeed envisage in St Cuthberts a Bombay suburb. Wrightson verifies that the mid seventeenth century saw a mushroom growth of bare cottages for the poor in country parishes (as in eighteenth century Auchtergaven and Tiree, pp 151 & 160 above) and the emergence of squalid over crowded pauper suburbs around the towns. 'The extent of the problem was frightening', and he cites among others Heydon in Essex where 43 per cent of the 'settled poor' are on or below the poverty line, with a further 23 per cent likely to join them in the event of a bad harvest. From this it is readily inferred that these armies of those deemed 'unsettled poor' would wildly exceed Gregory King's estimation of their numbers.³

The economic lot of Britain's poor however seems to have taken a turn for the better after the 1690s. Whyte states that following the Restoration there appears to have been a change of attitude on the part of the Scottish landowners towards their tenants and estates, whereby they were beginning to move away from feudal concepts towards more commercial goals, an outcome of these improvements being an increase in food supply, accompanied by a fall in prices. In addition to the harvest failures of the 1690s there were still shortages in 1724-25, and 1740-41, but no major mortality crises.⁴ Whatley saw Scottish industrialization in the late eighteenth century as exhibiting

¹ CH2/803/1. p 27.

² Laslett, *The World we have lost, further explored*, 106.

³ Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, 140-141.

⁴ Whyte, *Scotland's society and economy in transition, c.1500 - c.1760*, 151.

characteristics common to the rest of Britain. Textile and local specialisation in Dundee and Fife were similar to developments in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The emergence of coal and dependent industries such as chemicals and iron was a common experience, by 1841 Scotland is seen as having a higher concentration of such activities than England. Whatley also sees Scotland as drawing sustenance from the colonial trade, with the importance of her mercantile community fostering economic advances, especially in Glasgow,¹ north Lanarkshire, east Renfrewshire and southern Dumbartonshire. The emergence of heavy industry in Scotland relied, as it did elsewhere in Britain, on the ready availability of indigenous natural resources.²

An insight into the eventual lot of Britain's hitherto displaced and poorer ordinary folk is perhaps reflected by the reforms that were being enacted, albeit in stages, for their provision. Beier has observed that in England also economic prospects brightened from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, which led to a demand for labour that was largely absent before 1650. When in 1662 the new Act reduced the period to acquire a settlement to qualify for poor relief, to forty days (see p 184) the lot of England's poor was likewise eased, 'for most of the sixteenth century the rule had been three years, reduced to one year in 1597.'³ Following the Union of Parliaments the economies of England and Scotland developed to new heights, but the regulating of provision for the poor from Tiree to Edinburgh was still primarily subject to local Church interpretations. In Aberdeen qualification for poor relief settlement in the sixteenth century had been seven years,⁴ varying in the seventeenth century from three to five years for most Scottish locations. Whatley also explains that Scotland's poor relief provision failed to rise with need, and cites Devine who observes that the heritors, resistance to increased payments grew, sustained by a belief that over-

¹ See also: T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities c.1740-90* (Edinburgh, 1976).

² C. A. Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Cambridge, 1997), vii & 107.

³ Beier, *Masterless Men*, 172-73.

⁴ Providing that you had at least one Aberdonian parent, G. Des Brisay and E. Ewan with H. L. Diack 'Life in the towns' in E. P. Dennison, D. Ditchburn and M. Lynch (eds), *Aberdeen Before 1800, A New History* (East Linton, 2002), 59.

generous provision for the poor was morally unsustainable.¹ As late as 1817 the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, ministering to St Johns parish in the east end of Glasgow, was still arguing that charitable relief, voluntarily given and allied to Christian teaching, served God's purpose. Chalmers' attempt to run his parish in Glasgow on these lines however failed. Due to the requirement that applicants should reside in a parish for a least three years before receiving relief, many of the urban poor were unable to halt their descent into penury.² These policies, based upon an Act of 1672, proceeded upon those principles and remained law until the erection of the Board of Supervision in 1845, even then few parishes in Scotland had assessments and the main source of the poor fund still came from church collections and charitable endowments. In 1894 the Board of Supervision was superseded by Local Government Boards and eventually in 1919 by the Board of Health. This explanation as to the fate of Scotland's poor relief is way beyond our initial period of interest, but it was especially relevant to the welfare of the folk who were dwelling in Glasgow up to the early to mid-nineteenth century.

This very late transition from church to local authority control of poor relief in Scotland was also an essential part of our comparisons. In England the earlier order of Tudor and Stuart local government provision was under pressure by the seventeenth century, especially from the landless and dispossessed. Wrightson also observes that unlike Scotland there were whole communities in England where the drive for tighter social discipline had achieved only limited success, in which the rulers of the parish enjoyed only qualified authority, and in which social relations were characterized not by control and deference but by dissociation and mutual wariness. This was a stand-off in an atmosphere of menace which was a central element in the continuing tradition of riot. In 1667 the cottagers of Kingswood Forest near Bristol were described as existing without government or conformity, in idleness and dissoluteness:

¹ Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 315. - see also: R. Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland: The experience of poverty 1574-1845* (Edinburgh, 2000).

² T. M. Devine, 'The Urban Crisis', in Devine & Jackson (eds), *Glasgow*, vol 1 (Manchester, 1995).

They were not responsible to any civil officer or minister for their behaviour and lived in a lawless manner, selling ale without licence and keeping what rule they please, never going to church, pilfering and stealing. What is most striking in this description is the sense of shocked dissociation. The inhabitants of Kingswood kept their independence, but at a price of being regarded as an almost alien culture.¹

The foregoing exemplifies for our comparisons with Scotland that social differentiation in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not simply about economic interests, but of attitudes, values and social perception. Thompson also records that the poor of Kingswood's riotous behaviour was not confined to the seventeenth century, and likened their resistance to authority to the rising of a whole district. In the 1738 cider tax riots the excise officers had stated 'there are now in that Forest not less than 1,000 men, women and boys in armes destroying all before them'.² That the inhabitants of Kingswood, who wished to retain their independence, appeared in the eyes of the authorities and seventeenth-century improvers in particular 'as an almost alien culture', finds an echo in Highland Scotland in 1616 where no-one in the Western Isles who was unable to write, read and speak English was to inherit property or tenant Crown lands. The Gaelic language was condemned as 'one of the chief and principal causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie'.³ This had been instigated by the Scots' own Stuart monarch James VI,⁴ and not by England's then independent and separate parliament.

CONCLUSIONS.

Although this project may not have had the time and resources to embark upon a search for primary evidence elsewhere in Britain, our comparisons with the works of others in those locations has highlighted an all too familiar request to scholar and family historian alike: to estimate for the unknown. One cannot readily quantify the hordes

¹ Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, 182.

² E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), 304, 310.

³ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 76.

⁴ J. Goodare, 'The Statutes of Iona in Context' *S.H.R.* LXXVII,1 (1998), 46, 57.

glimpsed through the portals of this project who appear as hitherto unaccounted for. To ask for an estimate is reasonable, but exactly how much of the population are unaccounted for will be a separate and potentially involved project, the results of which simply cannot be foreseen. This particular enquiry has shown that a variety of scholars have encountered evidence, not just in Scotland, which suggests that thousands of people may well have been excluded from studies derived from sources which seem to pertain primarily to the 'settled'. As a scholar who has a reasonable knowledge of some of the more obscure of Scotland's lesser known sources, it is more than appreciated that one can only work from what is available. But how these sources are interpreted and conclusions proffered when they appear to have been derived from listings of only those who are 'noteworthy', is crucial for the credibility of many a study. On the interpretation of the only source material that would appear to be available, once again Seccombe seems to have an alternative or more rational opinion; that there is nothing intrinsically wrong with the *calculation* of components of growth based, for example, upon reasonable estimates of birth and death rates over time. He sees the problem as lying in a form of *reasoning*, in which the explanation of a phenomenon is treated as self-evidently inherent in the mathematical finding which furnishes a summary measure of the pattern under investigation, thereby short-circuiting the problem of interpretation; mathematical findings do not speak for themselves. That they are presented as if they did is indicative of a statistical positivism rife in the discipline of demography.¹

One objective of this chapter was to identify how the similarities and differences between Scotland and England's population, family structure, and changes in the period, affected their rural and urban sub-tenantry. Scotland's population may only have averaged 15 per cent of England's over the period,² and fluctuations in population growth and changes in family structures in both nations were quite similar. Seccombe argued that as more folk became separated from the land this implemented

¹ Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 215.

² Anderson, *British Population History*, 211.

a shift in family structures during our study period from a stem family to a nuclear family form.¹ But with regard to the rural economies of both Scotland and England and socio-economic developments such as the enclosures and agricultural improvements, the effects on both countries differed. As our case studies in chapter 2 in particular show, these changes occurred earlier in England. Scotland's younger children had long drifted to the towns, to suffer in times of dearth (page 166). Glasgow had shown that from 1711 to 1790 it had a 28.5 per cent excess of recorded deaths over recorded births (page 179). However, in contrast to England there are no massive increases in this excess of death figures. As we found in Auchtergaven, this could be because Scotland's agricultural changes coincided with the advent of rural and urban industrialisation.

Scots may bemoan the early nineteenth-century Clearances in the north-west Highlands, but these investigations have shown that throughout the seventeenth century, all in England below the rank of yeoman or tenant appear to have been given notice to either change vocation, or quit. This traumatic situation seems to have created a polarization in English society from which it may only just be recovering. It might be speculative to consider that this polarization between the classes could perhaps have been fundamental in contributing to that nation's internationally famed obsession with class. With virtually a century to wait before an Industrial Revolution could conveniently provide alternatives, England's ordinary folk had either to abide by a system of deference and 'know their place', riot, or emigrate.

In contrast to England it is emphasised in the preceding chapter and throughout this work how the gradual introduction of agricultural improvements in Scotland, at a much later date, likewise resulted in only gradual clearances, such as those evident in Auchtergaven, and that fortunately, these changes seem to have coincided with the advent of the eighteenth century's urban and rural industrial revolutions, which were able to absorb much of Scotland's potentially displaced, although in the seventeenth century in particular suburban parishes such as St Cuthberts were likely to have contained the encampments of many who were trying to exist upon the fringes of urban society. That Tiree's minister as late as the 1790s was very critical of his parishioners'

¹ Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 233-234.

resistance to change, could be a typical example of the impasse that preceded the later dramatic Clearances in that region.

In summary Andy Wood's observations as to the politics of Britain's ordinary folk at the turn of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries shows that although support for the Jacobite cause eventually surfaced in Scotland, its origins were by no means confined to that country. He sees popular Jacobitism as a manifestation of a defiant, occasionally violent, plebeian culture which, like the Kingswood folk, prized independence above all else. Wood also echoes Thompson in concluding: 'Thus the idiom of defiance articulated with popular Jacobitism showed that the labouring classes of early Georgian England could do what they bloody well pleased'.¹ Some scholars dispute however that such near anarchy was ever present in Scotland in this period. Whatley notes that marching and parading here was also usual, but what is striking is the degree of orderliness; demonstrators were beaten, bloodied and bruised, but rarely killed, and unwritten codes governed the conduct on both sides.² Once again this perceived greater unrest among England's ordinary folk could well have been occasioned by more of them being displaced from their agricultural roots at a much earlier date, than were perhaps their more fortunate Scottish cousins.

¹ A. Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2002), 191.

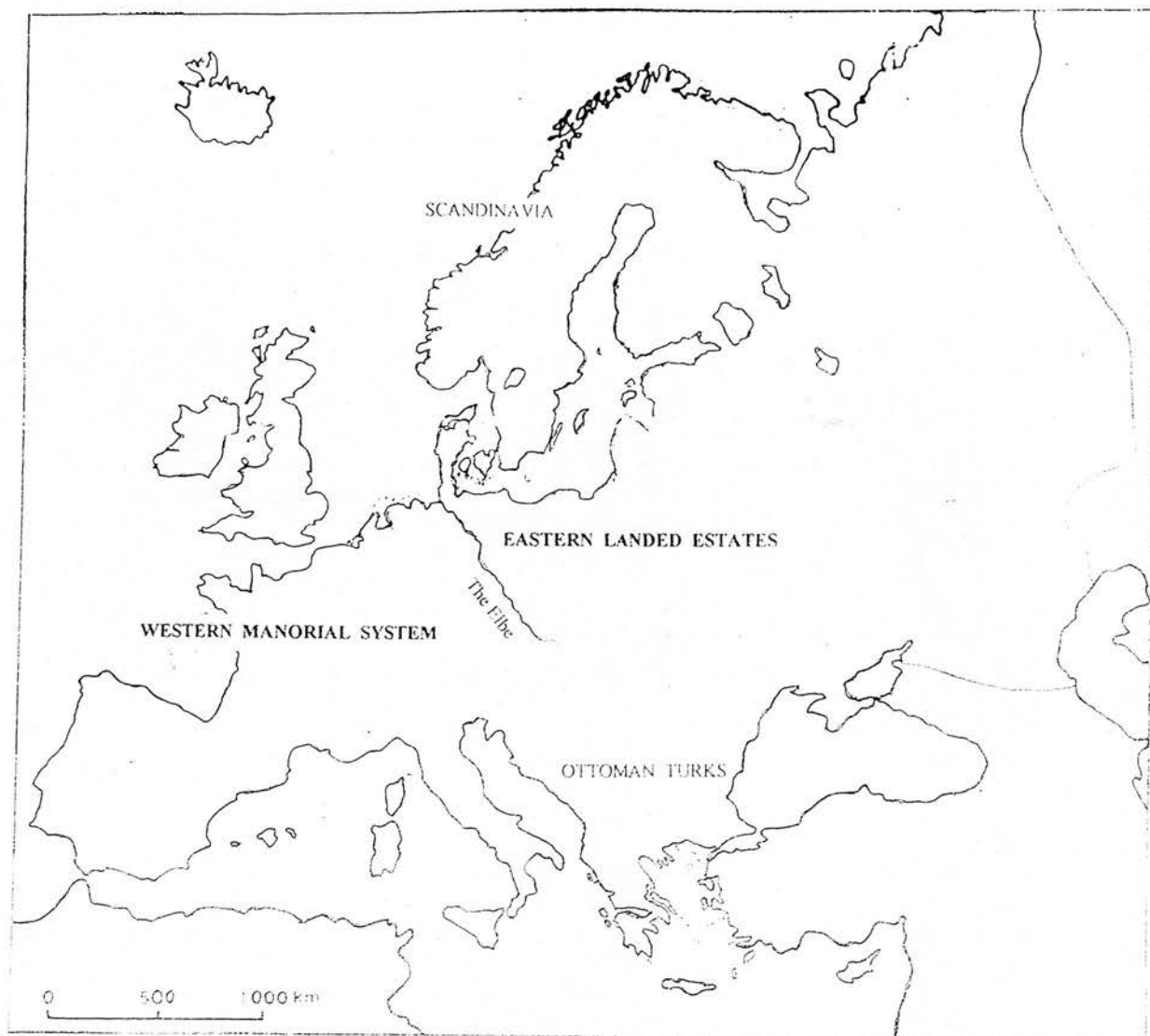
² Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1800*, 173-174.

7. COMPARISONS WITH OTHER FINDINGS PERTAINING TO EUROPE.

An awareness of how social developments in our period affected those likely to be below the rank of tenant in Continental Europe is just as significant as that learned from comparing the differences that affected Scots of this stratum with those elsewhere in the British Isles. However, as the time and resources for this project do not extend to the locating of primary sources pertaining to the ordinary folk outwith Scotland, by reviewing the secondary literature of scholars whose European studies are of a similar nature, once again we can endeavour to make some comparisons with the findings from our Scottish sources, and try and ascertain how any of these similarities and differences between the populations, family structures, and changes in the period, affected those who may have belonged to the respective rural and urban sub-tenancies.

First we should define the geographical extent of the continent from which surviving seventeenth and eighteenth-century data could be relevant to our enquires. In this respect little seems appropriate in the way of historical documentation which may exist for the vast steppes of eastern Russia, or for the Balkan lands south and east of Austria, then under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Turks. The area remaining was considered as the bounds of Christendom. However, even within Christendom there were throughout our study period two different rural agrarian social structures, with the geographical boundary between them being roughly the course of the Elbe, which flows through Bohemia then west of Berlin to Hamburg and to the sea. East of the Elbe the landed estate founded upon serfdom prevailed, to the west the lower orders were freer, but most depended upon a living originating from a medieval manorial system where the landlord initially organised farming rather than just renting land (see fig xi).

The manorial system west of the Elbe had much in common with that which existed in Britain, whereby the ordinary folk at the start of the seventeenth century were likely to have worked with other families, and then for one family who by the late eighteenth century would have been the main or sole tenants. An exception in Scotland was where in parts of the northern and western Gaelic fringes where the sharing of some tenancies lingered into the early nineteenth century. The west European tenant in turn paid rent, initially in kind then latterly in cash, to a landlord, laird, or still in some places the lord of a manor. Several phases distinguished the evolution of the east



Map defining the main west European comparison area
Traced from W. R. Shepherd, *Shepherds's Historical Atlas* (London, 1962).

European landed estates, which resulted in them being quite removed from our perception of Scotland's landed estates in the same period. Rosener explains that excellent market conditions in the sixteenth century facilitated the successful imposition of serfdom in eastern Europe. Population losses in the Thirty Years War and Swedish-Polish War meant that by the second half of the seventeenth century East Elbian peasants had to give up hereditary rentals and accept poor terms of tenancy including subjection to the landed estate, compulsory service in the seigniorial household, and a very broad range of servile labour requirements. By the eighteenth century the east European country estate reached its zenith. The noble landowners were now independent lords in their own bailiwicks, and the rustics came to be regarded as mere appurtenances bound to the landed property.¹ Resistance to this subjugation bears a striking similarity to events two to three hundred years later as the same east European workers reacted to the imposition of communist collectivisation; Sheldon Watts observes that while performing labour services under hated bailiffs, Polish peasants became expert at pretending to work without accomplishing anything. Long days were spent drawing peasant-owned ploughs and stirring up top soil without actually cutting deeply into the ground as good husbandry required.²

By contrast the subtenantry west of the Elbe would have had more in common with their counterparts in Britain, but the differences between Scotland and Europe may vary from those between Scotland and England. Equating the European peasant with the equivalent social rank in Scotland has long been problematic. West of the Elbe most ordinary folk were only bound to one place because of an agreed obligation, economic factors, or where age or infirmity impeded migration. Adverse market fluctuations were just as likely to instigate migration, as was the call of better prospects elsewhere. Documents detailing the contractual obligations of Scotland's subtenantry are virtually non-existent for our study period, but in western Europe by the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries it was also accepted that in exchange for one's labour one could

¹ W. Rosener, *The Peasantry of Europe* (Munich, 1994), 113.

² S. J. Watts, *A Social History of Western Europe 1530-1720* (London, 1984), 138.

acquire a residential status similar to that enjoyed by an Auchtergaven subtenant or cottar. Where in the west, as in Scotland, the parish was responsible for welfare, those who possessed the appropriate residential qualifications could understandably be reluctant to move outwith the bounds of this perceived security.

In western Europe there were localised exceptions to these generalisations, that swelled the ranks of the subtenantry and the displaced. Perhaps the most notable was in parts of Spain, where during our period of interest many of the lower orders can be seen as existing in circumstances that differed yet again from those experienced by their counterparts, both east and west of the Elbe. The financial power of the Spanish Crown had declined primarily because of the accumulating cost of defeating the Ottoman fleet in 1571, the war with the Protestant Netherlands and England in the 1580s, and the wars with France in the 1590s and the 1630s. As a result the Crown was forced to sell its ancient rights over peasant lands, and withdrew from its traditional position as the largely passive protector of the ordinary folk. The new landowners took this as a signal that they could use tenant and subtenant as they wished. Watt notes that the Valencian *senyors*, being too lazy to build up demesnes on the East Elbian model, raised feudal exactions and demanded a percentage of each crop, often a half. These exactions, which wildly exceeded those encountered in the average English or Scottish rental,¹ had resulted in many Spanish tenants selling their stock, mortgaging their property, and the eventual eviction from land which was going to waste as an ever diminishing number of them and their subtenantry, could afford to work it. As late as 1724, 118 out of the 339 families in the comparatively rich village of Gandia in Valencia had no mules or other plough animals of their own. 'Numerous places became depopulated, ...property wasted and fields uncultivated. The vassals who formerly cultivated them now wandered the roads with their wives and children'.²

In comparison the landowners of rural Auchtergaven in Scotland were by the early eighteenth century also beginning to adopt the changes in farming methods, the

¹ For Scottish rentals see N.A.S. GD repertories, also summaries in Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland*.

² J. Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs*, vol. 2 (London, 1969), 144.

influence of which had been spreading northward from England throughout the seventeenth century. In fact by 1724 these changes, which invariably added to the ranks of the subtenantry by consolidating shared tenancies into single tenancies, had already been implemented within much of Scotland's southern Borders and the Lothian regions.¹ Our study of the Murthly Castle rentals (pp 62-62 above) indicates that this process of consolidation to single tenancies was virtually complete in Auchtergaven by the mid to late eighteenth century.² But for Scots tenant and subtenant, these gradual or 'silent clearances' did not result in the sorry state of affairs evident in Valencia, although on Tiree on Argyll's west coast we found as late as 1792 the minister was complaining that where his parishioners persisted in sharing the tenancies of plots that were too small, this was evidently detrimental to their well-being.³

AGRICULTURE AND DEBT.

We have seen that the spectre of the wandering displaced was by no means a stranger to Scotland, or England in particular, throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. But the vast majority of West Elbian displacements at this time do not seem to have been brought about by the short-sighted avarice that was evident in Valencia. In Auchtergaven and throughout Britain, agricultural improvements were seen as being primarily responsible for instigating the transition from a nation of small holders of varying degrees, to a state where the vast majority had become dependent as wage earners, many of whom were prone to being idle when harvests or trade were bad. What is of interest are the developments elsewhere west of the Elbe during our study period, for these agricultural improvements, and the reactions arising therefrom, were, as we found in Tiree parish, by no means experienced at the same time.

Seeing how others see us, Rosener summarises developments in Britain's agriculture from a Central European point of view. Scotland and northern England were

¹ Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 10, 28, 62, 115.

² N.A.S. Murthly Castle Muniments. GD121/37.

³ *O.S.A.* XX, 269-270.

he deemed for the most part backward; until the eighteenth century agricultural activity there concentrated upon growing crops, stock-raising and the exploitation of extensive forests. Notwithstanding certain improvements, Rosener considered that Scottish agriculture did not attain the level of its English counterpart, where by the later half of the seventeenth century the importance of progressive measures was taken for granted. A feature was the Norfolk four field rotation system, which prepared the way for the 'new agriculture', and turned out to be a prime factor in the agrarian revolution of the second half of the eighteenth century. Comparable trends were also visible just across the Channel and the adjacent sector of the North Sea, mainly in Flanders and Holland. The importance that Flemish and Dutch ordinary folk attached to stock-raising provided solid evidence of their ability to adapt to changes in Europe's economy.¹ Watts writes how many in France were not at first as progressive as their immediate neighbours to the north. The greater well-being of the English was undoubtedly due to the abundance of cattle, not only for ploughing but also as the source of the Roast Beef of Old England. The ordinary Frenchman had difficulty even in finding pork for his stew pot. At a time when the Archbishop of Rouen's Norman tenants were dumping animal manure into the river Seine, Flemish and Brabant farmers were carefully husbanding it. The latter's success in breaking away from what were later termed 'Malthusian' constraints lay in labour-intensive cultivation and the diversification of crops. In the northern Netherlands peasants' committees were reclaiming land and buying up the remaining rights of the one time feudal and urban landlords.²

Why, one may ask, were urban landlords involved in transactions with rural peasants? We have seen in Spain and in her former possessions, that the ordinary folk's debts and mortgages had become a feature of life. In Castile, the Kingdom of Naples, French Burgundy, the Massif Central and in the Paris Basin, the control of credit rested largely with the urban merchants. Prior to a banking system, these lenders sought rural lands to enhance their social status and used credit to achieve this. Watts argues that in

¹ Rosener, *The Peasantry of Europe*, 134-35.

² Watts, *A Social History of Western Europe*, 155-158.

these regions we are justified in seeing credit as a tool of 'urban imperialism'. 'In France these developments or perhaps more accurately, underdevelopments, took place around Rouen, Dijon, Bordeaux and around all of the provincial capitals, including Paris'.¹ In Scotland the Mercers, as their name suggests, were a Perth family of merchants who through such transactions acquired rural estates, including Tullybeagles in Auchtergaven.² Scots lawyers were just as acquisitive. In 1599 Sir John Shairp, advocate, was endeavouring to remove rural tenants,³ and throughout the eighteenth century Writers to the Signet James Kae of Snaigow and James Smyth of Balharry were using rural debt to expand their Perthshire holdings.⁴ East of the Elbe, where urban centres were smaller, fewer and far between, any debts and obligations may only have been agreed between the landowner and his tenantry or serfs. Therefore as the only usable currency between them may simply have been the value of the latter's labour, it is envisaged that scant documentation is likely to exist about the debts of the ordinary East Elbian folk, especially where the debt was occasional, or outwith the tenant or serf's understood terms of service, and was probably repaid in kind.

HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILY STRUCTURE.

West of the Elbe rural living accommodation was not too dissimilar from that in Auchtergaven, or elsewhere in Lowland Scotland and England. At the beginning of our study period dwellings were quite simple and cramped, but by the second half of the eighteenth century Rosener observes that in the Netherlands and Alsace lower order houses became more luxurious. Farms were made up of several buildings with different functions, tenant dwellings were surrounded by stalls, hay lofts, and work rooms, just as a farmtoun may have been in Scotland's better arable areas.⁵ Furniture was minimal

¹ Watts, *A Social History of Western Europe*, 123.

² E. Smyth, *The Mercer Chronicle* (London, 1866).

³ Sanderson, *A Kindly Place*, 3-4.

⁴ N.A.S. see SC49/48 Perthshire deeds.

⁵ Fenton and Walker, *The Rural Architecture of Scotland*, 18-23.

and hired hands slept in attics above the stalls, similar to the mode of life experienced in the Bothies that existed in some of Scotland's farming regions. If in the earlier period the house only had a single room, benches were grouped around the fireplace, and served as both seats and beds. When food was served the whole household gathered around a large dining table; at the hour of the main meal, a large pot of steaming soup was placed in its centre. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, everybody would have dipped their spoon in the pot.¹ Those familiar with the folklore of eastern Scotland, where an identical 'bothy culture' was very strong, will recognise similarities originating from the sharing of the communal pot in the now seldom heard, yet somewhat disparaging expression, 'ye need a lang spoon ta sup wi' a Fifer'².

For urban contrasts, in many Continental cities the living accommodation was no better or healthier than we found Edinburgh, and like Edinburgh, West European apartment houses had also become a traditional feature in towns that wished to build upwards within the perceived safety of the city walls. In Paris some properties were built in plots as small as 243 square feet, and as in Edinburgh's stent and annuity listings, the owner occupiers considered the first floor to be the best location, and the ground floor was likely to be given over to a business, shops and their keepers.

With regard to European family structures Gottlieb has written that no matter how far back we go the 'nuclear' family predominated in the western world, in contrast to 'stem' or 'extended' families. Especially in Britain,³ the Low Countries, northern France, and within the European colonies of the New World. In other parts of Europe where nuclear-family households tended to be less common, even there they made up 50 per cent of all households. In southern Europe there was an even balance of nuclear and extended family households, and the stem family seems to have been quite common

¹ Rosener, *The Peasantry of Europe*, 152.

² R. Shepherd in Paul Kane (ed) *Scottish Slang Products* (2003), 1. www.paidmyre.demon.co.uk

³ See also St Cuthberts Examination Rolls CH2/718/210 & 212, and Appendix IV.

in southern France and in parts of Germany and Austria.¹

As in Scotland, the living-in servant had been as much an integral part of the household throughout western European, especially within the homes of those of the rank of tenant and above. In Britain it has been estimated that 60 per cent of the youths aged fifteen to twenty-four were employed as living-in servants at any point in time in the first half of eighteenth century; likewise the poor country youth in France typically left home at the age of fourteen to go into service. In a group of Danish parishes in the late eighteenth century, over half the population aged fifteen to twenty-four were servants; in nine Flemish villages, 38 per cent were, and in three Norwegian areas, 33 per cent. In England, the Low Countries and Scandinavia in the eighteenth century, servants resided in roughly 28 to 35 per cent of rural households.² But as we had found in Auchtergaven (pp 56-63), the transformation of agricultural production methods meant that by the second half of the eighteenth century, many of the west European live-in servants were likewise gradually replaced by day labourers and hired hands whose livelihoods were very much subject to the vagaries of the market. This growing army of ordinary semi-casual labourers were, like some of their Scottish and English counterparts, encountering difficulties in obtaining accommodation among the 'settled' with whom they had to compete for the same work at biannual feeings. As in Auchtergaven migration was an alternative, but that solution was only tenable in those countries which by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were benefiting from the employment opportunities generated by rural and urban industrialisation, the effects of which were beginning to spread out from Britain. East of the Elbe, the system which prohibited the peasants from fleeing the land appears to have stunted the growth of the towns and retarded industrialisation there. Also, in hindsight, it would seem evident that the opportunities that industrialisation offered had likewise arrived far too late to save France from its traumatic revolution.

¹ Gottlieb, *Family in the Western World*, 12-15. See also: Laslett, *The World We Have Lost*, 18-101.

² A. Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1981), 1.

THE CHURCH.

In most of Europe as in Scotland in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries the church was the first tier of local authority, along with the local magnate's court, to either influence or intrude into the lives of the ordinary folk, depending upon the power of the particular denomination in that state or region. Whether Protestant or Roman Catholic the authority of the church was supported and maintained in varying degrees by the local property-owning magnates, in return the church supported the authority of the local property-owning establishment. With regard to the reliability of church records in western Europe, as in Scotland and England, the wandering poor appear in burial registers, session minutes and accounts, but rarely if ever do events for the mobile stranger appear in baptism or marriage registers (see pp 178-79). Even the settled poor were not always welcome to participate in a marriage ceremony. Hindle's recent study of pauper marriages in seventeenth-century England questions Wrigley and Schofield's assumption that marriage partners were free to choose their intended spouses. In addition to the restrictions placed upon the likes of minors and apprentices, local poor law officers impeded pauper marriages, which Hindle argues as contributing to the high celibacy rate that checked seventeenth-century population growth.¹ This may also have resulted in a certain amount of illegitimate births among an unaccounted for substratum (p 189). But until these ghostly ranks are quantified to some degree, it will always be difficult to dispute statistics derived from documentation which only seems to pertain to the settled. Likewise, it is seldom that events for those who are not of the dominant religious persuasion appear in these church records. To this day, in Western Europe, population studies based upon the parish registers of the 'settled' are still being proffered without any reference to the mobile or those who may be squatting within the parish, whereas non-conformists can at times receive a mention. For example Segut's observations about Biraben's useful 'Survey of the Population of France from 1500-1700' mentions the difficulties in measuring the Protestant Population, and the absence of Jews from the survey, but no reference whatsoever is afforded as to whether any folk

¹ S. Hindle, 'The problem of pauper marriage in seventeenth century England', *EcHR*, LIII, 1 (2000), 139-140.

may have been transient or squatting.¹

The problem of trying to compile data that includes nonconformists is common in Protestant Europe where the very freedom of being able to dissent can result in a greater profusion of fragmented sects. In England nobody was compelled to marry in church until Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753. By this time many dissenting churches had been established - Quakers, Presbyterians, and Baptists among others. In Scotland, since the secession of 1733, it became almost impossible to verify whether every couple who claimed to be married had done so, due to the paucity of records that survive or were kept by dissenting congregations.² Another recent study, this time by Snell, of 69 rural parishes in eight English counties, is primarily concerned with marital endogamy and refers to Hardwicke's Act in curtailing 'foreign' marriages. This is where both parties are not legally settled or residing in the parish. Snell argues that the decline of these marriages is striking to the point of affecting the use of parish registers in demographic reconstitutions, and the relevance to Wrigley et al's involvement.³ What is of equal concern however, is not that one party had to be settled, but what the ordinarily mobile folk may have resorted to, who hitherto the churches had obliged. The problem was perhaps less severe in Scotland, where the church controlled the right to benefits, and where, with the possible exception of the Episcopalians, the available session minutes of the dissenting congregations appear to be just as strict in standards of discipline as the established church (pp 10-13). The records for Scotland's dissenting congregations are however still minimal compared to those extant for the established church, and irregular marriages were legal and persisted at border locations such as Lamberton Toll and Gretna well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴ Compared to mainland Europe there are some Scottish anomalies. Very few instances of second

¹ Isabel Segut, 'J.-N. Biraben's Survey of the Population of France from 1500 to 1700,' *Population, Institut National D'Etudes Demographiques*, 11 (1999), 133-38.

² At the N.A.S. CH3 is the reference for dissenters, CH2 is for the established church records.

³ K. D. M. Snell, 'English rural societies and geographical marital endogamy, 1700-1837, in *EcHR*, vol LV, 2 (2002), 262-298.

⁴ Lamberton Toll: G.R.O. ref: MR101. Marriages at Gretna Hall: S.R.S. 1949.

or other subsequent marriages seem to have been recorded in the registers of Scotland's established or seceder church, whereas on the continent information can be derived from records of subsequent marriages. For example Watts, writing from a European viewpoint, states that high mortality among married couples during our study period meant that a high proportion of marriages were, for one of the partners, a second or third marriage. Thus in sixteenth century England where widows, of all ranks, had a chance of finding a new husband and the age between partners was only two or three years, about one marriage in seven was a second or third marriage for one partner. A century later in Ile de France, the proportion was nearly one in three. In contrast to the English and northern European situation, in many parts of central and southern France, and throughout the Mediterranean world, the tendency among widowers who were looking for new wives was to shun widows and find a bride who was still a virgin.¹

In seeking examples of European church discipline comparable with that of Scotland, especially the kirk session's famed pastime of hounding the single mother, in seventeenth century France either the lessons of the Counter-Reformation had been heeded, or many misdemeanours were unrecorded. In Beauvais illegitimate births stood at only 1 per cent; at Ploudalmezeau in Brittany 1.6 per cent, with a peak of 4.5 per cent during the decade 1646-55. Although officially recorded illegitimacy rates in France hovered around 1 per cent until the late eighteenth century, Watts reports hundreds of thousands of children were in fact abandoned by mothers and left to die, presumably unbaptised. In Rennes, the chief city of Brittany, visitors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the corpses of babies in city streets and ditches. Though the city had a foundling hospital, an ordinance of 1717 forbade admission to babies born to parents not of the city. The transient parents were possibly a source of most of the infant corpses found on that city's streets. Yet even among the residents of Rennes the number of abandoned infants was sizeable. In this city of 32,000 to 34,000 inhabitants some 3,600 abandoned infants, most of whom were alive on arrival, were left at the

¹ Watts, *A Social History of Western Europe*, 69.

foundling hospital between 1722 and 1741. If one assumes that all of these abandoned infants were illegitimate, though some may have been surplus to what a family could afford, this equates to an illegitimacy rate of 21 per cent over nineteen years.¹

In trying to come to terms with these appalling statistics, at first the exceptional diligence of Scotland's kirk sessions seems to be vindicated. But where our studies of St Cuthberts and Edinburgh have shown that a quarter to a third of the population there may have been unaccounted for, by church examiner and tax collector alike (pp 129-30), we find similarities with Rennes. Dingwall notes that in the 1690s especially, the Edinburgh town council frequently referred to the expense of dealing with bodies and exposed infants who died on the streets.² Also, in a study of sexuality and social control in rural Scotland from 1660 to 1780, Mitchison and Leneman examine the question of whether concealed unmarried pregnancy was likely to produce infanticide. The parishes studied produced only twenty cases, and in eighteen cases where murder was alleged, these form just 0.2 per cent of their illegitimacy total. By adding this to the near 1 per cent of abandoned illegitimate children, 78 out of 8,429 illegitimacies, the number of Scots women determined to get rid of their child is even lower than English estimates. When a new born child was abandoned in Scotland in many instances it was left where it could be readily discovered, either at the door of the church or the manse.³

THE MOBILE AND DISPLACED.

Watts contends that the estimated high illegitimacy rate of 21 per cent for Rennes is not real, and much of this figure was likely to have been occasioned by the poverty of ordinary families who could not afford the babies they abandoned. As in Britain, an all-too-familiar issue was the acceptance of the mobile by the 'settled'. But the rejection of strangers was not confined to Rennes. In Lyon work projects and food tickets were provided for the poor, but those who could not prove residence were

¹ Watts, *A Social History of Western Europe*, 68-69.

² Dingwall, *17th Century Edinburgh*, 258-9.

³ Mitchison & Leneman, *Girls in Trouble*, 112-113.

excluded. In a round up of non-residents at Amiens in Picardy during the scarcity of 1644, the city guard deposited an 82 year old veteran outside the town gates and warned him that he would be whipped if he dared to return. The resistance to incomers was not just restricted to France. In Lower Saxony in the late sixteenth century where there was a tradition of elected local assemblies, only the tenure of certain houses gave the holders voting rights; those who built new hovels on wasteland were not enfranchised. From the numerous studies of seventeenth-century England especially, it has been ascertained that many of the ordinary folk there became mobile or displaced as a result of the agricultural improvements, but as these changes seem to have spread to most of Europe at a much later date, other reasons will have to be sought out and examined as to why so many on the continent were already displaced in the same period. Rosener shows that in the duchy of Brunswick-Wolfenbittel in 1656 the number of ordinary folk who were able to live full time from the proceeds of agriculture was relatively small, but the full and part timers and cottagers who jointly made up the village community, were entitled to use the commons. However, as the population grew so did a substratum of subtenants, day labourers, lodgers and domestics who did not have the same rights as the community. Many of them were the non-inheriting sons of farmers, and as long as there were not too many of them they were tolerated, but in lean times the more distantly related would undoubtedly have to seek subsistence elsewhere.

Arguably rebellion is a separate subject from the riot occasioned by the poverty of a population in flux, but Watts, looking at the origins of poverty in Western Europe as a whole, found as early as the 1549 Kett's Rebellion in England that the poverty of thousands had led them to riot. According to Archbishop Cranmer the people responsible were impoverished layabouts who had never performed an honest day's work in their lives. However, among the ringleaders of that revolt were in fact men whose status was just a shade lower than that of the local ruling elite. Even earlier in Germany in the famous Peasant War of 1525, many lesser nobles and burgomasters sided with those who felt that the traditional rights to common land, in particular, were being compromised. Scholars such as Watts argue that the new Lutheran and Zwinglian

teachings gave coherence to peasants' grievances which were detailed in The Twelve Articles outlining the German peasants' demands.¹ Further evidence of the great 'unaccounted for' is located in northern Italy as early as 1575, where in a survey of Bergamo registering only the aged, the sick and children under 15, 40 per cent of the city's population were found to be paupers; which ignored the untold number of able-bodied paupers whom the authorities chose not to know about.² In 1630 about 40 per cent of the population of the Spanish capital Madrid were paupers. During the Wars of Religion in Provins in Brie in eastern France in 1573, hundreds of strangers entered the city to buy bread and look for work without asking any salary other than gruel and bread. When the authorities failed to meet these demands the strangers rioted and temporarily seized control of the city.³

That so many were displaced in western Europe, long before the general spread of agricultural improvements from England in the seventeenth century, may well be explained by the eventual recovery of the continent's population in the early sixteenth century following its decimation by the Black Death plague in the mid fourteenth century. In comparison Whyte derives from the few chronicles for the demographic crisis of the fourteenth century that, because of her lower population density, Scotland may have suffered less than her neighbours from the Black Death. In Scotland there was no equivalent to the English statute of labourers where landowners were reluctant to abandon serfdom in order to maintain agricultural production. With the exception of mining, serfdom had died out in Scotland during the fourteenth century. After the initial disaster of 1349 there were no fewer than ten outbreaks of plague in Scotland between 1361 and 1500. This may have prevented significant population growth which resulted in an increase in holding sizes, falls in rents, and the leasing of demesnes, but the diet

¹ Watts, *Social History of Western Europe*, 148-49.

² B. Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: the social institutions of a Catholic State to 1620* (London, 1972), 312.

³ Watts, *A Social History of Western Europe*, 229, citing J.-P. Gutton, 'La société et les pauvres en Europe' (Paris, 1974), 30.

of the ordinary folk now included a substantial amount of animal products. Compared to other European realms Scotland may have been a poor country, but its population during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was not starving.¹

POOR RELIEF:

The English seventeenth-century reformer Samuel Hartlib's objective of clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, instructing the ignorant, and employing the idle by charitable institutions, was as far from being achieved on the Continent as it had been in Britain. Although Scottish burghs such as Edinburgh had local taxation utilised for poor relief, the church in Scotland was perhaps unique in struggling to meet welfare demands until 1845, but before the eighteenth century many European municipalities had resorted to a compulsory poor rate (tax) assessed on all householders who had an income above a set minimum. In rich and well-ordered cities such as Nuremburg regular taxation could be consistently maintained, but more typical perhaps was the situation in the cloth producing town of Amiens. During an economic downturn which reached a low in March 1652, when the ordinary folk were most in want, substantial numbers of the bourgeois refused to contribute more in taxes to support the poor. As a partial solution to the finance problem Amsterdam and several Dutch cities had after 1589 compelled the able-bodied poor to live in workhouses. However, private employees and their employers were worried lest the products of these institutionalised workers competed unfairly with their own, and successfully prevented these early experiments with workhouses to proceed beyond a preliminary stage.

Watts explains how in urban France after 1630, Dutch ideas about teaching the discipline of labour to the poor had joined with the ideals of the Counter-Reformation to produce a truly repressive regime. According to French logic people always became poor by choice; they had consciously rejected the new moral order of absolutism and of Tridentine Catholicism. At the parish level godly women called *charites* broke into the homes of the poor to ensure that those in receipt of charity did not smoke, gamble,

¹ Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 39-40.

swear, or cohabit with the opposite sex. Allied to these 'witches of the white terror' were the celibate parish priests who ensured that before a person could receive alms they had to produce a certificate that they had attended confession, performed Easter duties, and accepted the authority of the Counter-Reformation's concept of Religion. In this light the poor were deemed an abomination; if they could not be entirely rooted out by being sent to the West Indies to die of tropical diseases, or to Canada to die of the cold, they could at least be locked away out of the sight and hearing of respectable people. In Paris by the 1650s an average of 10,000 human beings were to be found in places of confinement known as *Hopitaux Generaux*.¹ Although on the other hand it appeared a contradiction where, in Catholic doctrine, there had to be poor people available as objects of charity, if perhaps for no other reason than dispelling the impression that all donations were being kept by the church.

In Scotland by comparison correction houses, mostly for petty criminals, vagrants and prostitutes, were evident by the 1630s, but it is difficult to ascertain from the available sources whether they discouraged vagrancy or became the havens for such. Mitchison cites instances where, as late as 1791 in Kirkcudbrightshire, justices imprisoned vagrants and released them on a promise to leave the shire. Mitchison is of the opinion that cost was one factor that led to a cooling off of enthusiasm for Scottish institutional care. 'The period when poorhouses and workhouses seemed a good idea was from 1730 till 1770: after that disillusion reigned'.² Nevertheless, these institutions multiplied in Britain as an unprecedented increase in the population continued into the nineteenth century. But unless they were criminals it was unusual for the ordinary folk to be locked in British workhouses or poorhouses. That so many across the Channel were locked away out of sight in these institutions prior to the general adoption of agricultural improvements, and long before the Dickensian concept of the nineteenth century poorhouse was to emerge in Britain, confirms that the displaced and indigent poor were already a feature of west European life, and that the circumstances which led

¹ Watts, *A Social History of Western Europe*, 236-37.

² Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland*, 104-109.

to their plight could not be attributed solely to changes in farming methods.

Whether in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Scotland's institutions made better provision for the poor than their European counterparts is a question yet to receive a precise and specific answer. As a generalisation however it can be shown in a number of instances that at the parish level there was more poor relief in England,¹ although in contrast Scotland's education services were ahead of those provided by her southern neighbour.² It is therefore relevant to note Peter Solar's argument that in England, prior to the industrial revolution, rural relief was distinctly more available than in the rural manufacturing districts of Flanders, Germany, France or Ireland.³

POPULATION COMPARISONS

Wrigley and Schofield's work has demonstrated that the population boom of the sixteenth century had, albeit briefly, come to a near standstill in the seventeenth century. By 1700 Western Europe was only about 9 per cent more populous than it had been in 1600, and mid seventeenth-century birth and bastardy rates had fallen, while age at marriage and the percentage staying single had risen.⁴ On the Continent as in England this reduction appears to have been achieved by nuptial constraint dictated by economic factors, although there were a number of regional differences. In France women's mean age at first marriage was around twenty-two in the sixteenth century, three or four years younger than in England, rising thereafter to around twenty-four and a half. In the South German town of Nordlingen, the age of women at first marriage rose from 25.1 years in 1611-50 to a very late 30.2 years by 1691-1730.⁵ In western Europe as in Britain, the first half of the eighteenth century saw only a gradual population increase. However,

¹ See also: Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland*, 104-109.

² For a more detailed examination of education throughout Europe as a whole, see: R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and education 1500-1800* (London, 1988).

³ P. M. Solar, 'Poor relief and English economic development before the industrial revolution' *EcHR*, L, 2 (1997), 369.

⁴ Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, 258.

⁵ Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 191.

whether in St Cuthberts, Edinburgh or elsewhere in western Europe, explaining the post 1750 population explosion is a major challenge to all students and scholars of modern demographic history.

Epidemics and famine were possibly just as significant to the fluctuations of the overall populations of Scotland, and western Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as were effects of wars. It would appear that agrarian reforms had resulted in the circle of Malthusian crisis being overcome in England long before this was to be accomplished in France, Scandinavia, or indeed Scotland, where severe famine was experienced in the 1690s, and again in France in 1740-1. There is every justification in arguing that as virtually all of the English statistics seem to be derived from sources that only refer to the 'settled', one still questions how many of England's ordinary folk were in fact immune to Malthusian deprivations, especially as a variety of those who comment on the period also make frequent reference to the hordes of displaced in that country. Unlike Rennes, and Dingwall's findings for Edinburgh in the 1690s, there are few if any reports of emaciated bodies roaming or lying in England's streets. Possibly because poor relief there was a civic and not a church responsibility. These same commentators do however tend to agree that famine seems to have vanished from England after the upheavals of the 1640s, and the plague vanished after 1665.

THE UNACCOUNTED FOR.

Just as our urban and rural studies have tried to reconcile local Scottish population listings, given primarily by ministers, which are often at a variance with the same church's examination rolls and local taxation lists, so G. Utterstrom's studies in Scandinavia have tried to reconcile catechetical rolls with tax lists. The outcome was similar in varying wildly, in that the population there paying taxes could vary from 40 to 80 per cent of the assumed total population.¹ With regard to locating the exact origins of the unaccounted for, Seccombe remains prominent in providing comparisons for the

¹ G. Utterstrom, 'Two essays on population in eighteenth-century Scandinavia', in Glass & Eversley, 'Population in History', 535.

circumstances which contributed to the plight of those ordinary folk who were wandering throughout Britain with those in western Europe. On the Continent the consolidation and expansion of the larger farms and estates are also seen as the prime culprits. When, as in Britain, the arable side of small-scale European agricultural holdings had collapsed, it was also harder for these people to retreat into common lands than had been in the case in medieval times, and likewise, squatter communities of the mobile and displaced were springing up throughout western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ Then as with King's findings, Seccombe derides Goubert, who gave French vagrants as 200,000 in the late seventeenth century, as representing only 0.6 per cent of the entire population.² But Seccombe does not detail or dwell on the presence of a mobile subtenantry or an alternative subclass.

In seeking evidence of Scotland's mobile stratum, the previous chapter showed that in the eighteenth century Glasgow was burying 28.5 per cent more folk than it was baptising, and although Greyfriars burials list only 9 beggars and 4 strangers as interred between 1658 and 1700, we note that Edinburgh's Council was collecting the dead from their streets, especially in the 1690s. By comparison Harding indicates that half of all Parisians could not afford the 10-15 *livres* for even a modest funeral, but the Paris parishes were evidently not under the same pressure to bury strangers as those in Edinburgh, as a quarter of Parisian deaths were from charity hospital to charity burial plot.³ Hence the settled and mobile poor were rarely defined from the many, it would seem, who were buried unnamed. Although King, Seccombe, and Harding's figures are primarily for the seventeenth century, that migration was posing problems for statistical analysis outwith Scotland is also acknowledged in Scandinavia, where their numbers seem to have impeded the study of early eighteenth-century population development in

¹ Andree Corvol, 'L'Offouage au XVIII^e siècle: Intégration et exclusion dans des communautés d'Ancien Régime', in Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 176-177.

² Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 178-180.

³ V. Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge, 2002), 230-31.

Denmark and Norway, even though these countries have usable statistics dating from 1734. Utterstrom explains that the results obtained were less reliable than could be wished, due partly to the inadequacy of the source material, but also to another circumstance, there are no statistics in the Scandinavian countries on eighteenth-century migration, internal or external:

As regards Sweden-Finland, researchers considered it unnecessary to take account of either immigration or emigration as they probably cancelled out one another. In Denmark-Norway, the situation was somewhat different. It is probable that Norway had a larger emigration surplus than Sweden and that Denmark had not altogether insignificant emigration from the countryside (Jutland), as well as immigration from abroad to the towns; it is impossible on the basis of the incomplete data to say if they cancelled out.¹

Utterstrom is nevertheless able to derive information from the wider range of sources which appear to be available specifically for Sweden for the eighteenth century. Sweden experienced a population increase in 1660-1750 because of good harvests and favourable economic conditions, but the following generation suffered 'a long series of harsh winters and population pressures of a Malthusian type. 'During the last two decades of the century there emerged an agricultural proletariat consisting of married servants, squatters, etc.'² By comparison, Scotland and Britain as a whole also had a substantial increase in population in the eighteenth century, but pressure, of a Malthusian type, was no doubt alleviated by the opportunities that arose from the advent of the Industrial Revolution which had yet to arrive in Scandinavia.

Not all of those who were unaccounted for were necessarily so because of the accidental or deliberate negligence of the surveying authority. Evidently many by the very nature of their occupation were, often by their own choosing, not residing long

¹ Utterstrom, 'Population in eighteenth-century Scandinavia', in Glass & Eversley, *Population in History*, 525.

² Utterstrom, 'Population in eighteenth-century Scandinavia', 547-48.

enough in one place to be reckoned with. Mariners and soldiers, both mercenary and otherwise, will no doubt have fallen into this category, as would travelling merchants, salesmen and drovers. Fontaine's important and detailed study of the *History of pedlars in Europe* dates from the fifteenth century to its decline in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and is founded upon the examination of material from Spain, Italy, England, Scandinavia and from the Dauphine Alps in the south-east of France. Pedlars are shown as frequently marginalised by both urban elites and national governments who saw them as existing upon the fringes of settled society, and possessing no readily assessable roots which could be tapped by either the civic or church authorities. Their potential competition in the market place was resented by urban tradesmen who often equated them with vagrants. But as Pedlars were of necessity transient, their social rank could vary. Fontaine argues that the negative perception of the pedlars is due to the municipal nature of burgh and businesses which have been organized around the sedentary trades that developed from the protective guilds. Of greater interest for this project however is where Fontaine is showing from whence these pedlars came. Urban settlements and shopkeepers are seen as a feature of the agricultural plains, whereas the limited opportunities and paucity of large urban settlements in regions such as the Alps, Pyrenees, and Scotland's highlands, forced families from these areas to earn a living by embarking on annual migrations. He suggests that most of the pedlars in England were Scottish, and confirms Smout, Landsman and Devine's study that there were also 30,000 Scottish emigrants to Poland in 1621. But throughout this work Fontaine did not see such movements as random wanderings; often they would have settled routes and agreements with suppliers along the way, and after a season of peddling they would return to their home villages. Some would have eventually migrated to the lowlands, and integrated themselves into urban society, but still kept their familial ties.¹

ECONOMIC FACTORS.

In western Europe as in Scotland, the wealth which oiled the wheels of the economy was primarily generated by agricultural production, the manufacture of goods,

¹ L. Fontaine, *History of pedlars in Europe* (Cambridge, 1997).

linens and gear, and the trading thereof. Our research of Auchtergaven parish reflects this, although not until the late eighteenth century is manufacturing evident there.¹ With regard to farm produce, Scotland was not alone when France and Scandinavia were also suffering from the same 'Ill years' of the 1690s. In these west European countries as in Britain, we noted that throughout the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the land, and the right to a settled place in it, remained everything. The landowning laird, lord or noble, invariably had a say in where and when certain crops were planted, when and how many days of the year the tenant and other ordinary folk were obliged to work on his land in addition to their own possession, and at which of his mills they were to have their corn ground. Many a French landlord would also have owned the baker's oven, and required that his approval be obtained for marriages among his tenantry, especially where a person might be leaving his estate.²

The production of cloth, linen and leather goods had been long established, especially in those areas where flax, sheep and cattle predominated, and the utilisation of certain minerals such as salt, lime and iron ore was as common in Europe as it was in Scotland; although the wider use of coal and steel for industrial purposes was not fully realised generally in mainland Europe until the early nineteenth century. The advantage of geographical location for trading purposes had been fundamental for creating the wealth not only of cities such as Edinburgh, but also of the developing nation states in which they were situated. In the late medieval period Venice and Genoa had become city dominated nation states in their own right, and well into the nineteenth century numerous landlocked German and central European principalities were no more than a burgh and its environs. But with the advent of long distance sea trading with new territories overseas, cities such as Amsterdam, Lisbon, and London, were to become crucial in formulating the wealth of what were to become major trading nation states. Not all of the wealth of these nations was acquired by trade. Spain for example had to

¹ *O.S.A.* XII, 33-34.

² Gottlieb, *Family in the Western World*, 37-38.

all intents plundered gold from earlier civilisations who were unaware of its international value. Most of Spain's wealth was then obtained from silver mining in the Americas, in the excavation of which many of the local natives were to die. In turn the Dutch, and English privateers in particular, plundered the Spanish galleons that were transporting this wealth back to Europe.

Inherited wealth, especially through land, and how the heir was to administer and utilise this inheritance, was always of more immediate concern to the ordinary folk in western Europe. For many endeavouring to be farmers in France, financial matters were prone to being exacerbated by the varying and complex systems of inheritance which frequently resulted in the formation of very small and barely viable holdings.¹ Under the primogeniture system the eldest son invariably inherited the estate, farm, farm tenancy, or simply his forebear's goods and gear. Under the French partible inheritance system everything was meant to be divided among the offspring in equal portions, which resulted over the generations in there being a profusion of smaller and smaller holdings. Seccombe's study of late sixteenth and seventeenth-century holdings, undertaken in order to obtain an estimate of those needing supplementary income, found that in the Paris basin 94 per cent of the holdings were less than 5 hectares; south of Poitou 88 per cent of the holdings were less than 2½ hectares. At Serignan in Languedoc those considered 'ridiculously tiny holdings' had more than doubled in number by the late sixteenth century.² This lack of consolidation and co-operation for the greater good is similar to that which Tirie's minister had complained of as late as 1792.³ To this day the small holding is still a feature of French agriculture, and of Highland crofting. In contrast Abel states that all over western Europe by the late eighteenth century, great expanses of heath land were ploughed up, marshes drained, forests cleared and pasture converted to arable. Contemporaries spoke in alarmed terms

¹ See E. Le Roy Ladurie, 'Family Structures and Inheritance in Sixteenth Century France', in J. Goody, J. Thirsk and E. P. Thompson (eds), *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200-1800* (Cambridge 1976), 37-71.

² Seccombe, *A Millennium of Family Change*, 175.

³ *O.S.A.* XX, 269-270.

of a 'greed for soil' and 'ploughing mania'. Land clearing initiatives were also undertaken in Belgium, Germany, the northern Netherlands and Spain.¹ Though Able may be generalising by stating 'all over western Europe' there was a ploughing mania, he does not in fact mention France, or the north or west of Scotland.

OPPORTUNITIES, THE POLITICAL DEBATES.

At times it could seem that too much of this study has been spent in endeavouring to examine the less salubrious circumstances pertaining to Scotland, England and Europe's ordinary tenantry, and that little consideration has been given to what opportunities there were for some of these folk to rise up from this stratum of society, from whose ranks most of our immediate forebears descend.

Although the door to the twentieth century has just closed, one can still venture that throughout that century most debates about the historical prospects of Europe's ordinary folk seem to have been monopolised both by the proponents of Marxist doctrine, who argued that human institutions are economically determined, therefore the state should have controlled the means of production, and their opponents, who wished to preserve individual enterprise free of state intervention. Marxists argued that unfettered free enterprise had resulted in the subjugation of the masses by big business monopolies, whereas their opponents argued that the same masses were equally subjugated by the dictatorship of nationalised state monopolies. It seems possible that to those peasants born into the east of the Elbe feudal system, and to their immediate descendants, that the opportunities of escaping from their class may indeed appear to have been remote and pre-determined. This might therefore go some way towards explaining why the Marxist promise of egalitarianism was eventually more acceptable in parts of eastern Europe, even though that doctrine was invariably established by force, and the subjugation of the landed estate simply replaced by subjugation to the collective farm or factory. Conversely, it does not involve too many powers of deduction to envisage that although ordinary West Elbians relied upon the vagaries of the market, this freedom to do so may well have resulted in them, and their immediate

¹ W. Abel, *Agricultural fluctuations in Europe from 13th to 20th century* (New York, 1980), 206-207.

descendants, being less inclined to abandon a system perceived as always possessing a chance for upward mobility, however optimistic, and an eventual outlet for their and their offspring's varied and individualistic ambitions.

The rights and wrongs of these arguments, and their relevance to our study of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century origins of Scotland and Europe's respective social systems, are perhaps best epitomized by the discussions detailed in the 'Brenner Debate',¹ wherein a variety of scholars contributed their thoughts about the origins of Europe's transition from feudalism to the systems which survive to this day. Robert Brenner saw the absence of a long established village solidarity in the east as fundamental to the differences with the west. These eastern villages Brenner saw as colonial societies formed by Germanic expansion. In general these eastern villages had no common lands such as those in the west, where the ordinary folk claimed traditional rights. The eastern colonists frequently laid out their holdings within the fields in large, consolidated strips in contrast to the tiny, scattered parcels which, initially, were characteristic of the 'natural' and 'chaotic' development in Scotland and throughout the west. This resulted in most East Elbian tenants dealing individually with their landlord, with little evidence of the tradition of struggle for perceived 'common rights' which were a feature of western development. As a result eastern villages were easier for the landlords to control than their western counterparts.²

Brenner also reasoned that because eastern towns were likewise less developed, they were easily dominated by the local nobility, thus shutting off a key hiding place for peasant flight. Added to this, few runaway serfs had the capital or skills to enter the ranks of the urban craftsmen or merchants. The economies of these eastern towns were mostly limited to the production of luxury goods for a limited elite market. Although they were in a minority, few of the established citizens or urban freemen, who were organised in closed corporations, could have welcomed rural immigrants. Those

¹ T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin (eds), *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe* (Cambridge, 1985).

² R. Brenner 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development' in Aston and Philpin (eds) *The Brenner Debate*, 42-43.

runaways who did make it to the envisaged sanctuary of an eastern town may have arrived only to find that in fact they were very conspicuous, to the extent of being completely out of place. Brenner did not shy from recognising the failings of East Elbian feudalism, which he styles the 'development of underdevelopment'. The availability of forced intensive labour discouraged the need to introduce agricultural improvements. The extraction of surplus production from the peasantry limited the emergence of a home market for industrial goods, and the curtailing of migration to the towns resulted in the suffocation of urban industry and the overall decline in the importance of those towns. The landlords as a ruling class pursued a policy of 'anti-mercantilism', by usurping the merchant's function as middlemen and encouraging industrial imports from the west, undermining still further what was left of eastern urban and industrial organisation. The possibilities for balanced economic growth were thus destroyed, and eastern Europe consigned to backwardness for centuries.¹

This backwardness, or perhaps more precisely defined, economic and industrial back-wardness, is surely relative and derived from comparisons with the progress that was emanating from England and Scotland in particular. Hilton, in his introduction to the Brenner Debate, sees Brenner as emphasizing that class struggle, rather than developments in production, determined the various social systems present in the countries of early modern Europe. A by-product was that a successful western peasant struggle to protect holdings also resulted in regression, reminding us again of the situation on Tiree in 1792. Because the small-scale production of the eastern peasants' holdings was incapable of technological innovation, these advances had to be left to proto-capitalist landowners and well-to-do yeomen. Here one draws clear parallels with the comparative state of affairs that existed in pre-revolutionary France when compared to Britain. Hilton and Brenner saw Britain as the pioneer of industrial capitalism which also happened to develop an agrarian capitalism based upon the destruction of the peasantry.² Recent investigations by Stephen Hipkin tend to belie such doctrines by

¹ Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development', 45.

² R. H. Hilton, 'Introduction' in Aston and Philpin (eds), *The Brenner Debate*, 8.

casting further doubt on Brenner's theory that the agrarian transformations in Britain, and possibly throughout western Europe, were landlord-driven. Hipkin's study of land occupation in Romney Marsh between 1587 and 1707 reveals a very active market in short-term leases, notably in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, even for parcels of less than 20 acres. These activities are in many ways detailing the rise of large tenant farms. That so many of the larger tenants participated in the creation of these farms demonstrates that as much initiative lay with the tenants as with the landowners.¹ Le Roy Ladurie also takes issue with Brenner on no fewer than thirteen accounts, with two issues possessing perhaps a greater relevance. Brenner's views on 'surplus-extracting, or ruling class(es)' are considered by Le Roy Ladurie to be a simplistic assimilation between power (political) and surplus value (economic), which even Engels would not have risked. Secondly, where Brenner thinks that for 'modernity' to emerge some of the ordinary folk had to be expropriated, he is completely underestimating the remarkable potential of their family economies, with their performance being particularly impressive in the Low Countries, in several regions in northern France, northern Italy, and in Catalonia.²

A combination of the growth of markets, capital accumulation and invention appear to have caused the emergence of Scotland and England's 'industrial modernity'. Saville saw the incorporation of a hitherto poor and backward Scotland into England's dynamic trading empire as enabling it to catch up, and by the latter eighteenth century determined and forwarding-looking. Scottish businesses had long been able to move into English markets.³ Scholars such as Whatley and Smout have demonstrated that the Scots were very far indeed from taking a back seat during the pioneering of Britain's

¹ S. Hipkin, 'Tenant farming and short-term leasing in Romney Marsh, 1587-1705, in *EcHR*, vol. LIII, 4, (2000), 646-676.

² E. Le Roy Ladurie, 'A reply to Robert Brenner', Aston and Philpin (eds) *The Brenner Debate*, 101-106.

³ R. Saville, 'Scottish Modernisation Prior to the Industrial Revolution', in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (Eds), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Linton, 1999), 17, 21.

industrial capitalism.¹ Notable examples were Murdoch who introduced reliable street lighting, born Ayrshire 1754; Telford the master of metal bridge building, born Dumfriesshire 1757; Rennie the renowned civil engineer of London's bridges, born East Lothian 1761; James 'Steam-Hammer' Nasmyth, born Edinburgh, son of the equally famous Alexander Naysmith; Robert Stevenson born 1772 Glasgow founded two generations of Scottish engineers; and not forgetting Samuel Smiles originator of such hagiography, born Haddington. But after Matthew Boulton perhaps the most significant contributor to the industrialisation of Britain was James Watt, the steam engine maker, born in Greenock in 1736.² Although the Dictionary of National Biography has detailed biographies of these Scots who also pioneered the Industrial Revolution, where the space and time for an in depth study beyond our remit is required, the works of Colley³ Whatley⁴ and Uglow⁵ encapsulate, perhaps more fully, the overall effects of the collective endeavours of these achievers.

The debate as to whether Britain's success was occasioned by the relocation of its subtenantry or because of enlightened husbandry, though essential is not the sole objective of this chapter. By reviewing the work of as many scholars of Europe as is possible, we still seek to encounter data indicating what proportions of ordinary folk below tenant rank were residing in certain European countries compared to Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though little is forthcoming.

This interest in locating comparable statistical data may not on the other hand have met with the approval of Sheldon Watts. Watts has an admirable desire to explore

¹ For an overview see C. A. Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Cambridge, 1997), T. C. Smout, *History of the Scottish People* (London, 1969), and T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London, 2000).

² Details of these industrialists can be found in; L. Halward, *Famous British Engineers*, (London, 1953), or for expediency in G. Donaldson & R. Morpeth, *Dictionary of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh, 1977).

³ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London 1992).

⁴ Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830*, chaps 6-8.

⁵ J. Uglow, *The Lunar Men* (London, 2002).

the lives of the ordinary folk, especially through interpreting their rituals and belief systems. He does however see social history as needing to separate itself from economic history, which he deems as becoming increasingly involved with grand theory and statistics which are almost beyond the comprehension of ordinary non-specialist readers. 'In consequence many social historians have considered it essential to divorce themselves from economic history with its materialistic emphasis, and instead to stress the human-centredness of their profession'.¹ Life might indeed be that simple in countries where the choice of early modern material abounds. But surely there is a middle road. It would be every student's dream to say that most, or fewer, people did certain things, without having to back up such statements with an acceptable degree of statistical evidence. In Scotland and in Europe however there are difficulties in extracting data from the few sources available for the early modern period, as this project has endeavoured to demonstrate. One does nevertheless try to safeguard against arriving at conclusions derived from extrapolations that might be over ambitious.

That said, how France (Scotland's former partner in the 'Auld Alliance') was faring during our study period is very relevant with regard to the lot of that country's ordinary folk. Whether the French lower classes could be referred to as ordinary folk in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the same sense as the Scots is a moot point, as the ordinary folk of France would seem to have been a nation of what the Scots would term 'portioners' or small holders. Whether it was because they had successfully defended their small holdings or because of their favoured system of partible inheritance, which divided these holdings into smaller and smaller portions, is probably due to a combination of both. Either way the heritable small holding was a powerful barrier to those who wished to consolidate land into more economically viable units. Brenner argued that it was the predominance of these petty proprietorships in France in the early modern period which ensured agricultural backwardness. In contrast to Scotland these French small holders did not have to face the end of tacks or leases, compete for tenures, or pay grassums (fees for lease renewals). So long as they could

¹ Watts, *A Social History of Western Europe*, 2.

feed their families and pay their taxes, they were not compelled to sell produce or compete in the market to survive.¹ But the French peasantry having wrested their freedom, and the essentials of freehold property, from their landlords, consequently that middling landlord class could not command the support that their British counterparts had against Charles I. The French small holders were then isolated, and exposed to being exploited as the tax base for an absolute monarchy.

What of Scotland by comparison? It is appreciated that it would be highly contentious to generalise, but it would appear that it was the English middling tax-paying sort and not the ordinary folk that initially rose against the absolutist demands of the Stuart monarchy. John Dalrymple explained the failure of the middling sort to rise in Scotland as follows: 'England was a trading country, and though originally the land had been engrossed by great nobles, in the progress of trade the commons (i.e. gentry and merchants) bought from these nobles great parts of these lands, and power follows property. In Scotland we had little or no commerce and the land remained engrossed by the nobles, and remained so as long as we had a parliament.'² What Dalrymple appears to be saying is that Scotland's parliament did not possess the same large faction of middling tax-paying gentry and merchants that were to become the foundation of England's House of Commons. To him Scotland's parliament was primarily of a House of Lords, or Nobles, due to the proportionally far smaller numbers of traders and middling sort that were then present in Scotland.

That there was no significant middling faction at odds with the monarchy in Scotland in the seventeenth century, is verified where Whatley notes that Scottish landowning society then was remarkably stable, enormously powerful, and arguably the most absolute in Britain.³ Exercising their authority through their regality and barony courts they seemed to require no greater autonomy from the Stuart kings of Scots.

¹ Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development', 29, 302.

² Aston and Philpin, *The Brenner Debate*, 147, citing: J. Dalrymple, 'An Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property in Great Britain' (London, 1758), 272.

³ Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830*, 28. - see also Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 62-64.

EMIGRATION, REVOLUTION, BRENNER:

That initially British merchants and emigrants were to the fore amongst those populating new lands overseas, especially from the seventeenth century onwards, would appear in part to be a reaction to the displacements caused by agricultural changes, which we note, with the possible exception of the Netherlands, occurred here much earlier than elsewhere in Europe. Britain's rural elite, especially, often remained in the farmtown or village of their birth and built up little family dynasties. In Auchtergaven and throughout Britain, the less substantial farmers, subtenants and cottars, did not have the need to live with the same tightly-knit group of people who shared common ancestors and a common 'life-world'.¹ For many of these ordinary folk the concept of family lands to which one could return was meaningless. So too was the concept of a home village to which one could remit one's wages in the expectation that one would return to die and be buried among one's ancestors. It was ordinary British folk of this sort who in the years before 1660, in their tens of thousands, migrated either as farmers or craftsmen or indentured servants to the new lands in Virginia, Maryland, Carolina and New England. By way of a comparison Smout does however remind us that the Americas was not necessarily the first choice for most Scots in the same period, where there was a substantial emigration to the European continent (and Ulster) of Scottish males, which peaked in the first half of the seventeenth century at perhaps one fifth of all men aged between 15 and 30.² It would seem that Scots had always emigrated, but about 1700 there was a change in destinations from European locations such as Ireland, Poland and Scandinavia, to the Americas.³ Some paid their own passage, but the ordinary folk may have been indentured or, by the late 1700s, transported by their laird.

¹ 'The ideal peasant's participation in the daily world of social activities was conservative, and largely governed by the interpretative patterns stored up from preceding generations. In this 'life-world' of daily experiences, consensus and custom rather than 'rationality' were the basis of thought and of considered action'.- Watts, *A Social History of Western Europe*, 109.

² T. C. Smout, 'The culture of migration: Scots as Europeans, 1500-1800' *History Workshop Journal*, 40, pp 108-17.

³ T. C. Smout, N. C. Landsman, and T. M. Devine, 'Scottish emigration in the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries', in N. Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European migration* (Oxford, 1994).

Given that the Dutch were also implementing agrarian reforms at home at virtually the same time as the English, this likewise may have instigated emigration, which could go a long way towards explaining why that country was also far from lacking in founding overseas settlements around the known world, in many instances ahead of the British. Not all colonial ventures however could be attributed to a hunger for land. In central and south America, Spanish and Portuguese venturers had been the first to arrive, primarily driven by a quest for gold, treasure and trade. Agricultural developments in France may have been following a different course than the British and Dutch, but her easy access to the sea enabled French merchants and settlers to follow hard on her neighbours' heels in the gathering scramble for overseas colonial possessions. In this respect the preceding evidence suggests that, until the eighteenth century, French trading posts were as likely to have been settled by those of middle rank and those displaced by a natural increase in that country's population, rather than by the advent, if any, of French agrarian transformations.

By the late eighteenth century the agricultural reforms were no doubt a major source of discontent, especially in those west European regions and principalities where the displaced had yet to have benefited from urban or rural industrialisation. Among the vulnerable who were likely to be disappointed were some who were endeavouring to move with the times and involve themselves with the new rural industries as a means of obtaining a livelihood. Attempting to reconcile the profit motive with the fluctuations of market forces was a concept quite alien to many of our ordinary forebears, and perhaps more so for the vast majority, who had for generations descended from those of the subtenantry who had no real experience of commerce. In many parts of Europe, and not just in northern Britain, the putting-out system, or as the Germans called it, the *Verlagssystem*, had developed. Here the initiative and most of the profits accrued went to entrepreneurs who provided the weavers with the raw materials and credit, and came back at the end of the week to collect the finished cloth to sell in markets that were often well outwith the reach and business acumen of the average producer. When the markets were buoyant, both parties benefited, but when they collapsed it was the rural worker who was left with outstanding debts. As in Britain the *Verlagssystem*, or

Putting-out system was considered by a number of scholars of the period as, at best, exploitative.¹

Unlike Scotland, where urban Edinburgh and rural Auchtergaven were by the late eighteenth century either involved in the embryonic Industrial Revolution or planned industrial villages, France had yet to develop fully many of the rural or urban industries which were becoming common in Britain. In most of what traditionally was 'Fertile France' small-time peasants now constituted an absolute majority taxed by an absolute monarchy. We note that many ordinary folk subsisted on inherited portions and tiny household size plots of land from which they produced unprofitable yields and raised small animals. This covered their requirements for only a part of the year. Therefore, work was needed from others in order to survive. In the non-agrarian areas of France petty crafts, which would have been deemed rural in Scotland, provided extra money. The main source of French supplementary income however was the rural textile industry which had grown rapidly during the eighteenth century. But this patchwork of occupations and incomes only held together while there were no calamities. The rural proletariat were mainly day labourers, and in certain parts of Normandy in 1789 this impoverished bottom rung of society represented about 60 per cent of the population.² Rosener details how the situation in the French countryside towards the end of the *ancien regime* amounted to polarisation. The upper stratum was growing stronger. Petty rustics and wage-earners were indigent while the rural middle-class was shrinking. The lesser sons and those fallen from this rural middle-class were entering the ranks of the smaller tenantry and day labourers. In the mid eighteenth century many still had small portions of land, but most of their income came from work which they performed for others in competition with their poorer neighbours. Eventually the greatest growth was among the ranks of the servants employed on the larger farms, which were beginning

¹ The putting-out system has been examined in greater detail by Kussmaul, *A General view of the rural economy of England 1538-1840*, 126-45, Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World*, 35, and by Watts, *A Social History of Europe*, 160.

² Rosener, *The Peasantry of Europe*, 155.

to be consolidated as an indication of the spread of Brenner's British-style agrarian capitalism. But these gradual transformations in employment opportunities would appear to have been arriving far too late, as the emergence of such a substantial and impoverished underclass undoubtedly provided many of the social ingredients for the great social explosion of 1789.¹

Brenner had argued that as early as the late sixteenth century landlords in the south of England had begun to consolidate holdings and let them to one main 'Yeoman' tenant. This was the indispensable precondition for significant agrarian advance, since agricultural development was predicated upon significant inputs of capital, involving the introduction of new technologies and larger scale operations. This increased productivity is seen as having allowed England to avoid the repetitions of the Malthusian crisis which were to grip Scotland, France, and much of the continent as late as the 1690s and beyond. The increase in agricultural production not only made it possible for much of the population to leave the land and enter industry, it provided for a growing home market which was an essential factor in continuing industrial growth.² The eventual outcome was that Britain became the first among nations to experience industrialisation. Devine has argued that Scotland was unique in that the agricultural changes there were introduced from above,³ whereas Hoyle, Croot and Parker in their disagreement with Brenner's implication that this eventual success for Britain had been founded upon a policy of land consolidation and engrossment, which had been forced upon the ordinary folk by the landowners,⁴ is perhaps more of an internal English debate. They cite among others Sir Robert Johnson who when writing of the estates of

¹ Rosener, *The Peasantry of Europe*, 155-156.

² Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development', 46-54.

³ Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 165.

⁴ R. W. Hoyle, 'Tenure and the land market in Early modern England, or a late contribution to the Brenner debate,' *ECHR*, 2nd ser., XLIII, I(1990), 1-20, P. Croot and D. Parker, 'Agrarian Class Structure and the Development of Capitalism: France and England Compared', Aston & Philpin (eds.) *The Brenner Debate*, 79-90.

the crown at the end of the sixteenth century, discussed both the lack of any active landlord policy and the advanced engrossment of tenements by the tenants themselves. Instances are also cited where contracts between lord and tenant were invariably to the tenant's advantage, and judges often called upon landlords to be lenient. The lord of the manor of Wigston Magna (Leicestershire) appears to have failed when he argued in chancery in 1586 that his tenants were copyholders for life, not of inheritance. In 1608 the lord of the manor of Ford in Shropshire conceded defeat in attempting to raise the fines charged for confirming the renewal of a tenancy.¹ These 'fines' are simply the term used for the equivalent of the Scottish 'grassum', the fee which was charged by the landlord or laird of some Scottish estates for the renewal of a tenancy. Although the Scottish grassum may have originated as a payment on entry for stock, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was becoming widely used by landowners ranging from Harris and Skye to Breadalbane, as an additional entry fee for raising revenue.² Such fines or grassums might also be likened to non-refundable 'key-money', required at times as an additional payment, which to this day is supposedly reflective of the good condition of the property being leased.

The tempering of such strict laws is seen by Hoyle as being typical of early modern judicial practice that is disregarded by Marxists. In fact the weight of the state could easily have been used to legislate heritable copyhold and the like out of business, but it was not. In truth many landlords could not envisage a situation in which tenants' sons did not replace their fathers. Prior to the early seventeenth century, which Hoyle saw as a time of general tenant shortage, it was considered desirable that sons should continue, and tenants did not imagine their children would not do so. In a world subject to free market forces it was almost inevitable that a surplus of tenants would eventually revert to a shortage. We note that in Scotland in the eighteenth century removal orders

¹ Hoyle, 'Tenure and the land market in early modern England', 7, 13, for other aspects of the Wigston Magna study, see also W. G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant* (London, 1957).

² For detailed examples of grassums see Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 69-70.

to flit are often encountered among local sheriff court processes.¹ That the same orders were being re-issued against the same tenants and their subtenants, up to several years later, suggests that such was either an annual formality to remind late rent payers, or, that this repetition was symptomatic of a shortage of tenants. Devine sees the latter as the more likely scenario. Where Brenner suggests that capitalist farming had been enforced along a single path, to Hoyle it is seen that there were perhaps several ways in which this concept of farming had emerged.²

By the mid eighteenth century the shift in Auchtergaven's population from agriculture to industries was gathering momentum. There was growth not only in the population of Edinburgh and St Cuthberts, but also of Glasgow, London, Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham. Even so, after the first of the wars with Napoleonic France in late eighteenth century, grain prices ceased to rise. To Brenner this allowed real wages to increase, 'a new golden age for working people.' With agriculture providing growing discretionary incomes and increasing purchasing power to the middle and lower classes alike, the home market expanded. Britain's industries fed on agriculture and stimulated in turn further agricultural improvement - this being a momentum which extended into the industrial revolution.³

CONCLUSIONS.

This appraisal of mostly social and economic developments in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has enabled us to make a number of comparisons with the lives of Scotland's ordinary folk in that period. Where Rosener may have indicated that Scotland was backward and conservative with its agrarian developments compared to England,⁴ these enquiries have tended to confirm Devine's argument that,

¹ For examples at N.A.S. see ref: SC1/1/1-208 (see also page 21).

² Hoyle, *Tenure and the land market in early modern England*, 18.

³ Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development', 327.

⁴ Rosener, *The Peasantry of Europe*, 133-4.

for the eighteenth century especially, it was precisely this situation in Scotland, wherein there were no sudden or massive displacements, which resulted in there being no real urgent need to replace the living-in farm servant here with day labourers.

In the light of these studies such circumstances do indeed appear to be peculiar to most of Scotland, and seem primarily to have been caused by the advent of urban and rural industrialisation, which resulted in there being no vast pool of displaced persons which rural employers could utilise to their advantages as many of their western and eastern European counterparts had. Even well into the nineteenth century the early census returns for the Scottish rural farm towns and households, such as those which we encountered in Auchtergaven, were to reflect the same steady turnover of young living-in servants as one would expect to have found throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were indeed many mobile Scots and wandering beggars, especially in the seventeenth century, due to a combination of bad harvests and wars. Also, our study of Edinburgh and St Cuthberts and the appraisal of the works of scholars pertaining to Europe remind us that even in the good years we should still be wary of statistics derived solely from sources which only pertain to the 'settled'. Some of those good years may have been far from pleasant for those ordinary folk whom the source compilers of the time had perceived as unqualified for inclusion. The folk omitted were not only deemed as being of no consequence, but in the eyes of posterity they had also been damned to joining the ghostly ranks of the 'unaccountable'. Of course there are always those who did not want to be examined or questioned and then as now many a fugitive, travelling chapman or tinker, who may not for example have relished the prospect of having to pay local dues and taxes, might not for one moment have minded being unaccounted for and unidentified.

Whether under Catholic, Protestant or civic jurisdiction, in Europe as in Scotland we have seen that there were throughout our study period institutions which had for long been established for the poor, some of which may well have had their origins in the early to late medieval periods. But by the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries not all of these traditional hospices were too concerned about the ordinary

folk. Some had indeed graduated to being hospitals for the sick, whereas others became alms houses for the select among the 'settled', or even boarding schools for the sons of the wealthy. While endeavouring to conclude with a more optimistic thought, Watts reminds us that as early as the sixteenth century another less calculating ideology was nevertheless beginning to emerge. Much of this was instigated by Juan Luis Vives, the Spanish author of *De Subventionem Pauperum*, the most influential of the sixteenth-century Catholic works on poverty. In common with such as Erasmus, Vives considered that 'man was the measure of all things and that any condition such as poverty which degraded man and made it impossible for him to fulfill his (or her) full potential should be rectified'.¹ We observe it is ironic that so little was done to resolve the problem of material poverty in Vives' own homeland, Spain. But by the seventeenth century men such as Sir Francis Bacon, Henry Sherfield and Samuel Hartlib had become the heirs of these early humanists. Hartlib's dream however to clothe the naked, feed the hungry, instruct the ignorant and employ the idle, was still some way from fruition. Mitchison had shown that during our study period the demands upon the Scottish Poor Law, which had been created for conspicuously rural societies such as those in Auchtergaven and Argyll, had changed.² The eighteenth century had seen a sharp increase in the size of Edinburgh and St Cuthberts, and also resulted in Scotland becoming the second most urbanised country in Europe. Auchtergaven's cottars were disappearing and there was no place in the countryside now for those who did not hold a job. These developments considered changes by some and upheavals by others, were not just confined to our study areas. In fairness, and in spite of reviewing the literature of many scholars, the paucity of seventeenth century sources and data makes it difficult to quantify or conclude whether Scotland's ordinary subtenantry was any worse of than her European neighbours. We noted that towards the end of our study period industry had absorbed many a displaced rural Scot, but with the exception of the Lowland Countries, this industry does not seem to have arrived to the rest of Europe to absorb those displaced

¹ Watts, *A Social History of Western Europe*, 235.

² Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland*, 228-29.

by the spread of these agricultural changes. While France especially had a surplus population which also enabled it to inhabit colonies overseas, the hereditary factors fundamental to the legal aspects of French land ownership seem to have impeded and stagnated that nations prospects for improving its agricultural production. This by the end of our study period was for the ordinary folk of France, a catastrophe. Seventeenth century emigration figures suggest that many a rural and urban Scot had good cause to seek better prospects elsewhere, but by the second half of the eighteenth century the ordinary Scot seems to have been enjoying a far better living standard than most of his or her European counterparts.

8. CONCLUSIONS.

Our prime objective has been to try and define what proportions of Scotland's population in our study period consisted of the subtenantry, of whom very little is known outside of the church records. In this respect attempts have been made to demonstrate how some of the surviving lesser known sources for social and family history research, from three geographically contrasting study areas, could be utilised to ascertain what the ratios were between those of tenant class and above on one part, and the majority below that rank on the other part, also, how these ratios may have varied between the three study areas, and what changes there may have been in these ratios between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

For the two rural study areas the available material for both which might contain information about the subtenantry was, overall, found to be patchy, and it had been anticipated that this could indeed have been the likely scenario, especially for the seventeenth century. In most parts of the Argyll estates the subtenantry were even more difficult to identify because of the persistence of shared tenancies, not only throughout our study period but beyond.¹ It was however surprising to find that because of the diligence of the Argyll estate in particular, there did seem to be more eighteenth-century material about the population of the rugged west coast parish of Tiree than there was available for Auchtergaven parish, though the latter by way of contrast is situated in a fairly good arable part of Perthshire. It has long been accepted by academic and family historian alike, that a wider range of historical documentation is extant for the burghs and parishes situated in the south and east of Scotland than there is for the less populated areas of the north and west. In many respects this is still very much the situation, but there are exceptions to these generalisations. Although the list of Auchtergaven's inhabitants located for circa 1650 gave rise to expectations that comparable material for that parish existed for the eighteenth century, only for the year 1791 was a census identified for the Obneys district of Auchtergaven parish, which was deemed inclusive enough to provide comparable information about both the tenantry and subtenantry there (chapter 2).

¹ Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 125-42.

CONCLUSIONS

Leaving aside the unfulfilled expectations for the eighteenth century from the Murthly Estates' papers, there was still sufficient and relevant study material available for the parish of Auchtergaven in Webster, the O.S.A. and the Hearth Tax rolls, to demonstrate the effects on Scottish society as a whole of the agricultural revolution in farming procedures. These had been introduced not only in Auchtergaven, but gradually throughout most of central and north eastern Scotland in the eighteenth century. It was noted that with the Highland Line occupying the north-west of the parish and Stanley Mills in the south-east, Auchtergaven in many respects was Scotland in miniature (see chapter 2). From the c.1650 list of Auchtergaven's inhabitants it had been estimated that there was around one tenant family to every three subtenant or cottar families; by 1790 this ratio had been dramatically reversed, at least in the source available for the Obney district of that parish, to five tenant families to every one subtenant family. Subsequently it appears that those gradually displaced by the agricultural changes seem to have drifted off to the new mill town at Stanley or to industries outwith Auchtergaven. On a much larger scale, many former agricultural workers throughout Scotland were at this time drifting to the central and eastern industrial belt to be absorbed by the Industrial Revolution. Therefore where the detectable changes in Auchtergaven between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could be interpreted as typical of what had taken place throughout the better farming areas of southern, central and eastern Scotland, developments to the same extent were not discernible in the Argyll estates, as exemplified by the Tiree rural study area (chapter 3).

The lesser known and more familiar sources used in the study of the Argyll estates and Tiree were derived from: hornings and inhibitions, the N.L.S. map room, the O.S.A., with an emphasis on the importance of locating and utilising existing publications, especially those of the S.R.S., the S.H.S., and those of other scholars such as Macinnes, and Dodgshon's crucial data from the currently unavailable Argyll estate papers. Information from a variety of other sources about the population of the island parish of Tiree at varying times during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was still coming to light and forwarded for assessment right up to the cut-off date for this

CONCLUSIONS

project. Sadly however it must be emphasised that the distinction between Tiree's tenants and subtenantry was continually blurred, due to the difficulty of ascertaining which parts of the island were occupied by a single tenant and which were being worked under shared tenancy tacks. Macinnes had indicated that by the second half of the eighteenth century three-quarters of Argyll estates' highland and island townships had become single tenancies;¹ but our databased analysis of the 1779 survey figures for Tiree had indicated that this parish was not following that trend.² The study of the 1779 survey identified 58 per cent or 258 households as being the tenant possessors of that island's 18,000 acreage, of which so little was workable grazing let alone arable. This density of tenancies in such a small area had suggested a high proportion of shared tenancies, a factor which was verified as still persisting in 1792 when the minister of Tiree, in his observations about the parish in the O.S.A., laid the blame for the poverty of many of his parishioners firmly upon the tradition of shared tenancies.³ It is of interest to speculate whether the desire or habit of working on such small though independent portions facilitated the acceptance of crofting. That the west coast islanders may have been in the habit of subsisting on small parcels of land was also evident in the earl of Argyll's horning of 1675 mostly against the Macleans. In this action no fewer than twenty six persons were listed as being the possessors of the isle of Iona's five square miles. Having allowed for what may have been usable grazing or arable, it is hard to imagine that these twenty six possessors could have subsisted on anything other than croft sized patches. In contrast to Auchtergaven it is also not too difficult to envisage that there could not have been very much room remaining on the islands of Tiree or Iona for a significant subtenant or cottar population. Verification of this was found where, in her study of the Argyll Estate's 1779 survey figures, MacArthur had noted that on Iona there were then thirty two tenant households and just twelve cottar

¹ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*, 222.

² Cregeen (ed.), *Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate*.

³ O.S.A. XX, 269-70.

CONCLUSIONS

families.¹ That Iona's cottars were a minority was in keeping with the findings in Auchtergaven's Obneys in 1791, but the persistent profusion of tenants on Iona on such a small acreage may be seen as conforming with Macinnes's observation that although the transformation from shared to single tenancies was indeed taking place on these islands, it was at a different pace from elsewhere on the Argyll estates.² The unavoidable reality was that unlike Auchtergaven and the rest of central, southern and eastern Scotland, by 1779 a vast 60 per cent of the rural population on the Argyll estates were still either sharing or subtenants to some degree, who appear to have stayed put, and had not all become farm servants, emigrated, or drifted off to join the then expanding Industrial Revolution.

One debate about the northern and western Gaeldom awaiting resolution is: because the revolution in farming methods was only slowly implemented in the north and west of Scotland, was the presence of a population which Devine denies were slow to make changes,³ a factor which contributed to the more publicised 'Clearances' of the mid nineteenth century. This contrasted with the 'Silent' or gradual clearances which had been taking place throughout the eighteenth century in the better arable farming and grazing areas of central, southern and eastern Scotland. In this respect Chapter 3 has explored the more obvious explanation that the rugged terrain, and the scattered patches of usable ground in the northern and western islands and highlands, clearly does not lend itself to being consolidated or engrossed into larger units to the same extent as had been possible elsewhere throughout Britain. In addition to inhibiting participation in the eighteenth century's revolution in farming methods these geographical limitations had demonstrated their significance in preserving the cultural differences of the Gaidhealtachd, which still range in places from differences in language, music, sport,

¹ MacArthur, *Iona*, 21.

² See Chapter 3.

³ T. M. Devine, 'A Conservative People? Scottish Gaeldom in the Age of Improvements' in Devine and Young (eds), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, 225-34.

CONCLUSIONS

and indeed, farming methods.

In some ways the topography and size of Scotland's population had much in common with the countries of Scandinavia. In this context Gunnlaugsson's conclusion to his work on Iceland was relevant where he observed that variations in social structures both between and within countries should also include cultural factors, since economic variables do not always offer convincing explanations.¹ The Gaidhealtachd was and in many respects still is culturally distinct, but in our study period its inhabitants seem to have needed a lot of convincing that their terrain, and the distance from markets, was far from satisfactory. On the other hand some of those inhabitants may simply have had no interest in implementing changes for what they perceived as being for the superior's commercial benefit. This study has shown that the change in the ratio of tenants to others in Auchtergaven between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was generally in line with events elsewhere in southern, central and eastern Scotland, but as these changes were negligible on parts of the west coast, the question remains as to whether this resulted in the often cited Clearances in some western and northern regions in the early nineteenth century.

The search for comparable information about those below the rank of tenant in Scotland's urban areas in the same period was eventually more rewarding, to the extent that an increase over the period in the proportion of tenants and potential proprietors was clearly evident. The St Cuthberts examination rolls appeared promising, but failed to produce comparable seventeenth and eighteenth-century data from which ratios of tenants to others could be estimated. However, the material on local populations for Edinburgh's subparishes derived from the Poll, Hearth and local taxes, Webster and the O.S.A., eventually rectified St Cuthberts' deficiencies, and provided many of the required answers. Also, the examination of the St Cuthberts material was far from wasted, for from these and the Edinburgh study arose a serious question for this work: exactly who is and who is not being counted? (See chapter 4.)

¹ Gunnlaugsson, *Family and Household in Iceland 1801-1930*. - see chapter 3.

CONCLUSIONS

For a research project to produce as many questions as it provides answers is not unusual. In this respect it is hoped that these enquiries have not only introduced one or two answers, but have also formulated new questions which others may deem worthy of further study. In this context perhaps the foremost question to emerge is:

How vital to future demographic studies is the factor of the 'unaccounted for'?

That is those who this study became aware of as: untaxable, unexaminable, or not relevant, because as strangers or transients they were seemed to have no rights of inclusion. This leads to the next more difficult and open-ended question:

How many therefore were excluded from church, burgh, and other records?

Webster's survey of 1755 is based upon the figures supplied to him by the established church ministers. Can we be sure that these ministers included all who were not members of their congregation? Mitchison, and Flinn's works both tend to leave this question open.¹ Throughout Scotland's kirk session minutes, accounts and burial records one frequently comes across the giving of alms to, and the burial of, strangers and poor travellers. But seldom if ever do the same church records mention the marriages or the baptisms of children to persons other than those who are settled within that parish or burgh. It is appreciated that any attempt to estimate for the unaccountable does appear to be an absurd contradiction. The credibility of certain demographic studies may nevertheless be questioned where the findings are not, at the very least, qualified by at least mentioning those who may have been excluded. Dingwall is among those only too aware of the presence of the untaxable whereas, in rather surprising contrast, some of the Cambridge population studies group's cornerstone works do not seem to dwell in too great a depth upon the significance of an excluded or displaced category. For example, how could the competent journeymen be identified from the

¹ See Mitchison, 'Webster Revisited', and Flinn, *Scottish Population History*.

economic migrants, the sturdy beggars, or even the wandering objects of pity?

This work has for example endeavoured to emphasise that surely some 'unnamed strangers' were buried in and around Edinburgh during the 1658 to 1700 period of the Greyfriars burial register, especially in those lean years of the 1690s. Also, that Glasgow's minister had attributed a 28.5 per cent excess of burials over baptisms between 1711 and 1790 to suburban deaths, surely reflected the inability of the then suburban Barony, Gorbals, and Govan parishes to accept the responsibility of trying to cope with a migrant, untaxable and unexaminable population, many of whom we envisaged may well have been squatting within the bounds of these parishes, third world style.¹ Getting these folk to communion was perhaps the first step towards settlement and the recording of their existence.

This evident presence in our study period of an unaccounted for squatter population around our major cities then brought into focus the issue of exactly what are the acceptable criteria for a community being deemed urban. Questioned here is whether a community with a population exceeding that of many provincial capitals should be deemed suburban simply because it lacks a substantial professional or middling stratum of society. The *O.S.A.* material for St Cuthberts verifies that throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century its population and number of merchants and tradesmen, exceeded that of many a burgh,² which also possessed the remnants of a landward or rural district, and like the smaller recognised burghs of Renfrew, Dysart, Portsburgh and Canongate was also economically linked to a substantial neighbour. This study sheds light on the expansion of the largest urban area in early modern Scotland. But if the eighth most populated parish is deemed suburban because its proportion of professional and middling sort did not match that of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen or four other burghs,³ then under the same criteria districts which had not seen a green field for centuries, such as the inner London

¹ See chapter 6.

² Figures in *O.S.A.*, vol II, pp 5-6 compared with vol I, p 144.

³ See discussion in: Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh*, 276-77.

CONCLUSIONS

boroughs of Southwark, Bermondsey and Lambeth (which are exactly where hordes of ordinary folk there dwelt) would still be deemed no more urban than the leafy suburbs of Surbiton, Harrow on the Hill or Milngavie.

In summarising the general situation in Scotland concerning the lifestyles of the ordinary folk below the rank of tenant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from the information derived from the sources located for the three study areas, it would seem apparent that these lifestyles were as different as the contrasting environments in which the local populace lived, worked, and were dependent upon (chapter 5). The geographical environment of the northern and western regions of Scotland appears to have been a significant factor in an estimated 60 per cent of the population still being sub or shared tenants there as late as 1779, whereas a complete reversal in such ratios had taken place in Auchtergaven and throughout most rural parishes of southern central and eastern Scotland by the late eighteenth century. That the instances of war, plague and famine were in decline after the 1740s, seems to have resulted in a gradual improvement in the well being of Scottish society as a whole,¹ but poor housing was not just an urban problem. Reports in the early 1790s in the O.S.A. from the ministers of Auchtergaven and Tiree had emphasised that the dwelling houses of much of the sub or lesser tenantry in those parishes were still poor, damp and prone to generating infectious diseases. Also significant in both of those reports was the implication that these adverse conditions were partly self-inflicted. In Auchtergaven the blame was placed upon the subtenant and cottar's own negligence.² In Tiree we noted that the all-too-familiar reluctance to implement changes in farming methods was seen by the minister as being the fundamental cause of his parishioner's poverty.³ Devine and Blair-Imrie seem to refute this by arguing that the tenants at least were as eager as their landlords to meet the demands of the market. But the conditions that pertained to the latter's Angus based study, such as type and quantity of produce and distance from

¹ Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830*, 6-7.

² O.S.A., XII, 25. - and chapter 5.

³ O.S.A., XX, 258, 265. - and chapter 5.

CONCLUSIONS

market,¹ differed quite significantly from those of Tiree.

For the town dwellers the profusion of sources for at least three of Edinburgh's inner subparishes, such as surveys by the ministers and the cess, stent and annuity rolls, had provided a much clearer picture about the lot of those residing within an urban environment. In Edinburgh the 'accounted for' proportion of inhabitants below the rank of proprietor was seen as gradually declining from 80 per cent in 1635 to 50 per cent by 1791 (see chapter 4). Flinn was of the opinion that welfare provisions for the less fortunate were more abundant in the towns,² the indication being that such may have been a factor which contributed to their migration to urban locations. On the other hand, Mitchison had cited many examples of where the towns were not necessarily any more accommodating of the poor than were the rural parishes,³ and that many of our forebears who may have been attracted to these urban centres by a combination of perceived opportunities, would soon die. The urban environment for town dwellers, irrespective of class, was not any healthier than the countryside. Much of the rural subtenantry may have subsisted in damp and unhealthy accommodation, but in the towns few were immune from the sudden outbreaks of contagious diseases, which arose from overcrowding, poor sanitation and water pollution in particular.

These studies also found that developments affecting the lives of Scotland's ordinary folk were not too dissimilar from those that had affected the lives of their southern neighbours, albeit at an earlier date (chapter 6). A prime example is where the much publicised 'Highland Clearances' of the early to mid-nineteenth century, can in many respects be interpreted as being the conclusion of a process which had its origins in the better farming areas of southern England as early as the late sixteenth century.⁴

¹ Blair-Imrie, 'The Relationship between Land Ownership and Commercialisation of Agriculture in Angus, 1740-1820', 371.

² Flinn, *Scottish Population History*, 169-170.

³ Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland*, 196-201, and Withers, *Urban Highlanders*.

⁴ See also: E. Richards, *The Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh, 2000).

CONCLUSIONS

As a convenient generalisation it could be said that from the late 1500s onwards, the majority of England's tenant farmers had been cleared from their smallholdings so that these could be consolidated or engrossed into much larger units.¹ By the early to mid eighteenth century this had resulted in most of those in England still working on the land being employed by a decreasing number of yeoman farmers, who had been fortunate enough to either tenant or develop and then acquire an expanding agricultural unit. That this process of consolidation, accompanied by transformations in farming methods, had been gradual in the better farming areas of Scotland, and were still occurring there at the advent of the Industrial Revolution, not only absorbed the potentially displaced but had in places threatened a shortage in farm labour.² In parts of the Highlands and Islands however these changes seem to have been imposed in just three or four decades, to a culturally distinct population reluctant or unable to implement them. Therefore some preferred emigration. A factor unexplained by scant seventeenth-century data is the reminder by Smout et al that as 115,000 males alone emigrated between 1600 and 1650,³ the lot of Scotland's subtenantry then may have been just as traumatic as their English counterparts. But in Scotland's case the lack of evidence of substantial agricultural changes at that time means that emigration may have been prompted by overpopulation or bad harvests, and not because of changes in farming methods creating displacements. Such may in fact have sustained the population and prevented those earlier migrations.

Although the land and one's place in the hierarchy of occupying it was fundamental to most Scots during our period of interest, studies which might facilitate other comparisons between the life styles of the Scottish subtenantry with their English counterparts are not solely confined to how they were affected by the changes occurring

¹ J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right Enclosure and Social Change in England 1700-1820* (Cambridge, 1993), chapter 5; also Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, chapter 5.

² Devine (ed.), *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland*, 2-3.

³ Smout, Landsman, Devine, 'Scottish Emigration', 85- 90.

in farming methods. It was for example recognised that a tremendous amount of ground breaking demographic work, derived from England's parish registers, had been undertaken by the Cambridge population studies group. It was also recognised that Scotland's Old Parish Registers simply do not survive from an early enough period to facilitate a comparable project. Nevertheless, during the course of ascertaining whether a similar study was feasible, questions had arisen about the nature of the English research which were crucial for any contemplating similar work in Scotland, a prime example being: how were couples with the same first names and surnames identified in England's registers after mothers lost their maiden surnames on marrying? Identifiable explanations were not found in the voluminous works *The Population History of England 1541-1871* and *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837*,¹ but the question was addressed in the *Introduction to English Historical Demography*, where Wrigley had not seen same name couples as a problem, 'Occasional mistakes will occur for this reason but they will be rare and not upset the results seriously', and with regard to associating two or more baptisms to two or more marriages, 'This is laborious but cases of this type arise relatively infrequently'.² This may only have sufficed in parishes where few had the same surname, which is hardly the case in northern and western Scotland in particular. With regard to allowances being made for the baptisms or marriages of those excluded because of nonconformity, residency qualifications, or other reasons, Wrigley et al answered this by reasoning that it was fair to assume that nonconformity and non-observance had common roots, therefore one could obtain an idea of what proportion of the population's events were unaccounted for, by projecting back from the figures for unrecorded births estimated by comparing such registrations with the nineteenth century census returns. Although outwith our period, this author also has reservations about these census surveys. While Wrigley et al's projection seemed reasonable for ascertaining trends for the last decade or two of the eighteenth century, they did concede

¹ Wrigley et al, *English Population History from family reconstitution 1580-1837*.

² Wrigley, 'Family Reconstitution' in Wrigley (ed), *English Historical Demography, an introduction*, 133-36.

CONCLUSIONS

that for the 1770s, and earlier, the figures for determining the nonconformity inflation ratio had been chosen in an arbitrary fashion.¹ Therefore for the purpose of cross-border comparisons, it was fairly evident that for the bulk of our c.1630 to c.1790 Scottish study period there was little in the way of reliable English figures for the excluded. Subsequently the necessity for mobility must have resulted in many Scots and English alike being unaccounted for.

Our cross-border comparisons of how church discipline and a local church may have welcomed the baptism of a child, illegitimate or otherwise, whose mobile parents may not have belonged to that congregation, showed some differences. Illegitimacy in seventeenth century Britain appeared to be low, and it could not be assumed that all of those who were unable to have their child baptised were refused because it was illegitimate or because the parents were strangers. The lawfully joined among those who were mobile and likely to be excluded from a having a child baptised in a convenient established or nonconformist church, were not suddenly impotent from becoming the parents of children that could survive. It was noted that in their study of those repeating the offence of illegitimacy in the eighteenth century Mitchison and Leneman showed that the instances were much higher for England because 'repeaters' were more mobile than other women. A situation which they claimed would not apply to Scotland because the Church detective work was very efficient.² While the legendary efficiency bordering on enthusiasm of Scotland's kirk elders could not be denied, virtually all of the accounts they detail in the session minutes nevertheless pertain only to those who were or who had been settled within their parish.

The spread of nonconformity, in the eighteenth century in particular, would appear to have been just as prevalent in Scotland as it was in England,³ although our

¹ Wrigley & Schofield, *Population History of England 1541-1871*, 137.

² Mitchison & Leneman, *Girls in Trouble*, 79.

³ R. Houston, 'Population History of Britain and Ireland', in Anderson (ed.), *British Population History*, 109-110.

CONCLUSIONS

studies have indicated that the English were inclined to hold their clergy in lower esteem than did the Scots. In fact some of Scotland's seceder sects seemed more devout and serious about keeping the Sabbath than were the congregations of the established church. With the possible exception of the Episcopalians, this stricter adherence to the authority of the various Protestant churches in Scotland may very well have had its origins in the stricter fundamentalist teachings of Calvin and John Knox. This had eventually given rise to a form of Presbyterianism which contrasted with what some Scots may have perceived as the halfway-house between Protestantism and Catholicism adopted by the Anglicans. However, it should also be accepted that although kirk discipline was in decline by the 1780s, a correlation invariably linked with the advent of industrialisation, the perseverance of some aspects of church authority in Scotland may have been prolonged by the entitlement to welfare benefits still remaining the responsibility of the church, at least until the erection of the Board of Supervision in 1845. Therefore prior to the demise of kirk session power, many in Scotland may have viewed being out of favour with the church as letting lapse a very important and traditional form of insurance. In England on the other hand the administration of poor relief had long been a matter for the local civic and municipal authorities. Throughout our study period the definition of 'Poor' would seem to have been subject to what the writer may have perceived as 'Poor' for the purposes of their particular enquiry. Whether unemployed, transient, starving or destitute, it is not until well beyond our study period that categories for means-testing are introduced.

When we wished to envisage how the Scots and Scotland were viewed by the rest of Europe, and by most of the New World, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and how this may have affected the lives of the many who would have originated from both the rural and urban subtenantry, in both centuries they were primarily seen as being migrants, traders and soldiers (chapter 7). Due in some respects to the lack of documentation for the period, the question lingers as to why there was such a large amount of emigration by Scots to the Baltic, and to Poland in particular, in the early seventeenth century. It has long been recognised that Scotland had

CONCLUSIONS

traditional trading links with the Baltic states, therefore it could be expected that some Scottish merchants and soldiers would have settled there. It has also been noted that east of the Elbe serfdom prevailed during our study period. That so many Scots were evidently choosing to settle voluntarily into such a system, albeit as soldiers or pedlars, raises the question as to whether things were that desperate back home?(chapter 5). That being a time of the Thirty Years Wars and the Stuart monarchy's war with England's Parliament. The associated agricultural disruptions may lead to speculation as to whether the option of soldiering, and settling among the east Elbian serfs, was not so bad as we might perceive from a twenty-first century perspective, which might be conditioned to viewing any form of serfdom as akin to Tsarist. One even wonders whether this serfdom may have offered the migrating agricultural worker a greater degree of security, as it does not seem possible that of the 30,000 to 40,000 Scots who had settled in Poland by 1650¹ all would have remained as soldiers or pedlars. This implies that there would have been a disproportionate amount of migrants trying to follow the same calling, in just one country. Some must have elevated themselves above the ranks of the subtenantry. An explanation perhaps is that the wars in mid seventeenth-century Europe disrupted settlement and caused widespread mobility.

The opportunity for some of Scotland's humbler folk to acquire tenancies in Irish plantations meant that by the late seventeenth century Scottish emigration had not abated, and throughout the eighteenth century Scots from all social backgrounds were still prominent among migrants trading and soldiering overseas, though their destination now was more likely to be the Americas.² But by the close of the eighteenth century Scotland had not remained the poor partner within the Union that some may have anticipated.³ Britain and the Lowlands had forged ahead of the rest of Europe with

¹ Smout, Landsman, Devine, 'Scottish Emigration', 85- 90.

² Smout, Landsman, Devine, 'Scottish Emigration', 90-98.

³ I. Hont, 'The rich country-poor country debate in Scottish political economy' in I. Hont and M. Ignatieff (Eds.) *Wealth and Virtue: The Shape of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1983), 286-87, 311, 313.

CONCLUSIONS

changes in agricultural production. The Scottish and English primogeniture systems of inheritance facilitated the consolidation of properties by the eldest sons, whereas the French system in particular, of partible inheritance which divided the property between the children, impeded such consolidations and any improvements which may have been arising therefrom (chapter 7).

With regard to future venues for on-going research, one project which has the objective of providing even more information about the elusive, especially among the subtenantry, is where work is already underway in loading hitherto obscure listings of such individuals, where such are encountered, onto a data base using the existing Old Parish Register number system (see pages 35 and 110 footnote 3). These compilations into a County & Parish Source Index are intended to help students to identify sources pertaining to a locality that are additional to the church records. Estate papers and their rentals are a current priority in this endeavour. The National Archives for Scotland's on-line O.P.A.C. system provides an excellent introduction to the sources that are available nationally, the County & Parish Source Index aims to identify which are the local sources among these, and others, especially those relevant to a parish or barony.

The part that the Scots had played in expanding Britain's interests abroad, from the second half of the eighteenth century, has been often and adequately documented. Descent from one of Scotland's ordinary folk was a lineage not only shared by a ship's engineer from the Gaidhealtachd plying the China Seas or a Glaswegian train driver in the Punjab, it was also the heritage of some who had become the administrators of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Britain.¹ That so many had to migrate at all, especially in the seventeenth century (pp 171-73), may have reflected that Scotland's resources then were unable to meet its population's demands. A situation perhaps eased in the eighteenth century by industrialisation and agricultural changes. Emigration however always seems to have offered opportunities to the lesser sons from all levels of society. Optimistic visions of unclaimed acres also enticed those hitherto subsisting

¹ See also: T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (London, 2003).

on poor holdings, such as those on Tiree, who may have felt that there was no longer a decent place for them here, or that they were of no account.

Endeavouring to quantify and estimate for a proportion of the population that is difficult to identify is not a problem that was confined to the early modern period. Evidence of a subtenant class whose existence depended upon precarious rights of settlement was not just restricted to the odd glimpses which we catch of these folk among Scotland's earlier and lesser known sources. It is often cited that at the dawn of the nineteenth-century scholars of demography, hitherto convinced that the population was declining,¹ had been astounded at the seismic jolt inflicted upon their way of thinking by the results of the 1801 census. Nevertheless, by the twenty-first century it was becoming apparent that these surveys and the registration system in particular was becoming wide open to certain abuses.² The temporary use of identification cards during World War II showed that Scotland then was primarily inhabited then by what might be deemed as the locals, their administrators, and service men. The current proposition to reintroduce these cards could no doubt produce yet another seismic jolt in modern demographic thinking. It would appear therefore that when we are endeavouring to quantify a sector of Scottish society, or that of any other land in or outwith the early modern period, a factor crucial to the demographic study is not only those who may have been excluded. The participation of those who are required to be surveyed or registered can also vary, depending at the time upon the ability or desire of those individuals to seek or avoid inclusion.

¹ 'A taste for this peaceful and rural life, which prevailed so much in ancient times, must be numbered among the causes of the great populousness of the ancient world, and the decay of this taste among the moderns helps to account for the present scarcity of people'. Robert Wallace, *A Dissertation of the Numbers on the Numbers of Mankind in Ancient and Modern Times* (Edinburgh, 1753, reprint 1809), 98.

² Glass, *Numbering the People*, 181-183.

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APPENDIX I

INHABITANTS OF AUCHTERGAVEN c.1650.

These listings represent an attempt to compare the names of those mentioned in the Murthley Estates' c.1650 listing of the 'Names of the people and paroschinars of Auchtergawin past the aige of fyftein yeires' (GD121/1/37/207/7), with the names of those listed in the same estate's teind rentals of 1647 and 1654 (GD121/1/42/224/1 and GD121/1/41/223/39). The column headed 'ten' refers to the c.1650 document. It is only estimated that those identified with the number 2 are tenants, as, in similar seventeenth and eighteenth-century listings, at least the first mentioned at a location is invariably the main tenant there.

The figure 1 in all columns should be interpreted as a blank or zero, as the database procedure had to be given a positive number in order to produce the results. Therefore only those with the figure 2 appear as rent or teind paying potential tenants in the listings 'tent' (for 1650), then 1647 and 1654.

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'116471654
1 Instruwi	Wobster	Andro		2 1 1
2 Instruwi	Peddie	Cathrain	his spous	2 1 1
3 Instruwi	Wobster	Cathrain	his dochter	2 1 1
4 Instruwi	Broune	Williame		1 1 1
5 Instruwi	Bowis	Elspeit		1 1 1
6 Instruwi	Browne	Johne	his sone	1 1 1
7 Instruwi	Browne	Jonet	his dochter	1 1 1
8 Instruwi	Dow	Williame		1 1 1
9 Instruwi	Wobster	Agness	his spous	1 1 1
10 Instruwi	Dow	Williame	younger	1 1 1
11 Instruwi	Donaldsone	Margrat	his spous	1 1 1
12 Instruwi	Cuik	Robert		1 1 1
13 Instruwi	Gairdner	Agnes		1 1 1
14 Instruwi	Miller	Thomas		1 1 1
15 Instruwi	Mores	Agnes		1 1 1
16 Instruwi	Collie	Andro		1 1 1
17 Instruwi	Angus	Margrat		1 1 1
18 Instruwi	Miller	Patrick		1 1 1
19 Instruwi	Pirie	Margrat		1 1 1
20 Instruwi	Wastvater	Thomas		1 1 1
21 Instruwi	Burne	Margrat		1 1 1
22 Ardblæ	Ruthven	Jonett	< servitor to Jon Ruthven	1 1 1
23 Ardblæ	Ramsay	John		2 1 1
24 Ardblæ	Line	Jonett	his spous	2 1 1
25 Ardblæ	Beatt	Jeane	< servitor to John Ramsay	1 1 1
26 Ardblæ	Finley	Andro		1 1 1
27 Ardblæ	Sanders	Jonet	his spous	1 1 1
28 Ardblæ	Sprunt	Johne		1 1 1
29 Ardblæ	Ruthven	Jeane		1 1 1
30 Ardblæ	Black	Johne		1 1 1
31 Ardblæ	Nicoll	Margrat	his spous	1 1 1
32 Ardblæ	Watstone	David		1 1 1
33 Ardblæ	Miller	Johne (sichis spous		1 1 1

APPENDIX ONE

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

	1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'11647 1654
34	Culteramey	Crichtounne	Johnne		2 1
35	Culteramey	Garvy	Margrat	his spous	2 1
36	Culteramey	Crichtounne	Alexr	his son	2 1
37	Culteramey	Crichtounne	Willame	yr	2 1
38	Culteramey	Crichtounne	Isobell	< dochter to Jon Crichton.	2 1
39	Culteramey	Bruntfield	Andro	<	1 1
40	Culteramey	Bruntfield	Jonnet	< his dochter	1 1
41	Culteramey	Clark	Cristane	< spous to Andro Bruntfield	1 1
42	Culteramey	Miller	Thomas		1 1
43	Culteramey	Mare	Isobell	his spous	1 1
44	Culteramey	Cowt	Harie		2 1
45	Culteramey	Miller	Agnes	his spous	2 1
46	Culteramey	Cowt	Agnes	his dochter	2 1
47	Culteramey	Ruthven	Alexr		1 1
48	Culteramey	Wat	Margrat	his spous	1 1
49	Culteramey	Sellar	Antone		1 1
50	Culteramey	Mertaine	Elspet	his spous	1 1
51	Culteramey	Sellar	Jonett	his dochter	1 1
52	Culteramey	Young	Willame		1 1
53	Culteramey	Wobster	Agnes	his spous	1 1
54	Culteramey	Bulzeions	Herrie		1 1
55	Culteramey	Wobster	Catharine	his spous	1 1
56	Culteramey	Hay	Jean	his servand	1 1
57	Culteramey	Line	Adame		2 1
58	Culteramey	Calmyne	Jonett	his spous	2 1
59	Culteramey	Burneman	Jonett		1 1
60	Culteramey	Calmyne	Patrick		2 1
61	Culteramey	Calmyne	Isobell		2 1
62	Culteramey	Rutherford	James		1 1
63	Culteramey	Calmyne	Thomas		1 1
64	Culteramey	Miller	Willame		2 1
65	Culteramey	Young	Margrat	his spous	2 1
66	Culteramey	Miller	Johnne		1 1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

	1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'16471654
67	Culteramey	Bruntfield	William		1
68	Culteramey	Bruntfield	Andro	<	1
69	Culteramey	Clerk	Christaine	his spous	1
70	Culteramey	Miller	James		2
71	Culteramey	Young	Elspeit	his spous	2
72	Culteramey	Kynoch	Johne		1
73	Culteramey	Miller	Isobell	his spous	1
74	Carntonne	Garvy	William		2
75	Carntonne	Dow	Agnes	his spous	1
76	Carntonne	Baill	John	<	1
77	Carntonne	Garvy	Patrick		1
78	Carntonne	Werth	Agnes	his spous	1
79	Carntonne	Garvy	Johne	his sone	1
80	Carntonne	Garvy	Jonett	his dochter	1
81	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Fongow	Margrat	< servitor to Thos Watstone	1
82	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Watstone	Patrick		2
83	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Duncane	Jean	his spous	2
84	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Watstone	Jean	his dochter	2
85	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Watstone	Agnes	< dochter to Patrik Watson	2
86	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Clerk	John	his man	1
87	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Beatt	Margrat	<	1
88	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Willson	Heillan	<	1
89	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Watson	Thomas		1
90	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	McHomie	Isobell	his spous	1
91	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Findlae	Grissell	< servitor to Andro Christie	1
92	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Piterkine	Andro		1
93	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Reid	Margrat		1
94	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Duncane	William		1
95	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Burnman	Jonett		1
96	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Duncan	James		1
97	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Baill	Margrat		1
98	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Duncane	Johne		1
99	Nathertone of Aucht'gavn	Linsay	Jonett	his spous	1

APPENDIX ONE

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

1650c locations				APPENDIX ONE	
	location	surname	forename	notes	ten'116471654
100	Nathertone of Auch't'gavn	Boyd	Johne		1
101	Nathertone of Auch't'gavn	Thomas	Eupham	his spous	1
102	Nathertone of Auch't'gavn	Thomas	Johne	his man	1
103	Nathertone of Auch't'gavn	Crichtonne	Andro		1
104	Nathertone of Auch't'gavn	Miller	Cristaine	his spous	1
105	Nathertone of Auch't'gavn	Chrystie	Andro		1
106	Nathertone of Auch't'gavn	Ramsay	Jonett	his spous	1
107	fezanhill	Ruthven	Cristaine	in Fezanhill	1
108	fezanhill	Crichtonne	Margrat	hir dochter	2
109	fezanhill	Crichtonne	William		2
110	fezanhill	Shipurd	Elspeit	his spous	1
111	fezanhill	Crichtonne	Cristaine		1
112	fezanhill	Duncan	Isobell	hir dochter	1
113	Hardhauch	Rioch	Johne	elder	2
114	Hardhauch	Ald	Jonet	his spous	2
115	Hardhauch	Rioch	Johne	younger	1
116	Hardhauch	Bulzeion	Elspeit	his spous	1
117	Hardhauch	Duncane	William		1
118	Hardhauch	Scheiphird	Jonett	his spous	1
119	Hardhauch	Duncan	Cristaine		1
120	Hardhauch	Ald	Cristaine		1
121	Hardhauch	Tailzour	Jonett		1
122	Hardhauch	Couper	Jonett		1
123	Hardhauch	Fogo	Patrick		1
124	Hardhauch	Duncane	Cathrine	his spous	1
125	Preistonne	Anderson	Mr Alexr	minister	2
126	Preistonne	Ballintyne	Grissell	his spouse	2
127	Preistonne	Anderson	Mr John	minister younger	2
128	Preistonne	Young	Jean	ther servand	1
129	Preistonne	Elge	Isobell	ther servand	1
130	Preistonne	Young	Jane	< servitor to ye minister	1
131	Preistonne	Mchomie	William		2
132	Preistonne	Grant	Jonet	his spous	2

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'	1647	1654
133 Pre:stonne	Mchome	Alexr	his son	2	1	1
134 Pre:stonne	Nchome	Mart	> dochtor to Patrik Mchome	2	1	1
135 Pre:stonne	Mchome	Pat:	< younger	2	1	1
136 Pre:stonne	Watson	James	his man	1	1	1
137 Pre:stonne	Murray	Elspeit		1	1	1
138 Pre:stonne	Black	Cristaine		1	1	1
139 Pre:stonne	Mccondochie	William		1	1	1
140 Pre:stonne	Shiphird	Jonett	his spous	1	1	1
141 Pre:stonne	Mchome	Patrick		1	1	1
142 Pre:stonne	Watson	Cathraine	his spous	1	1	1
143 Pre:stonne	Ruthven	Jonett		1	1	1
144 Pre:stonne	Robertson	Jonett		1	1	1
145 Pre:stonne	Finlay	Robert		1	1	1
146 Pre:stonne	Tailzeour	Elspeit	his spous	1	1	1
147 Pre:stonne	Finlay	James		1	1	1
148 Pre:stonne	Finlay	William	his son	1	1	1
149 Pre:stonne	Finlay	Margrat	his dochter	1	1	1
150 Pre:stonne	Young	Margrat		1	1	1
151 Pre:stonne	Morisone	Johne	messenger	1	1	1
152 Pre:stonne	Porter	Isobell		1	1	1
153 Pre:stonne	Morisone	David	his son	1	1	1
154 Pre:stonne	Morisone	Isobell	his dochter	1	1	1
155 Pre:stonne	Miller	Robert		1	1	1
156 Pre:stonne	Moresone	Jean	his spous	1	1	1
157 Arliewight	Dow	William		2	2	1
158 Arliewight	Crichtonne	Jonett		1	1	1
159 Arliewight	Dow	Alexr	<	2	2	1
160 Arliewight	Catanache	Alexr	<	1	1	1
161 Arliewight	Beitt	Cristain	< his spous	1	1	1
162 Arliewight	Muillion	James		2	2	1
163 Arliewight	Dow	Isobell	his spous	2	2	1
164 Arliewight	Dow	Johne	his man	1	1	1
165 Arliewight	Stewart	Johne	< servitor to James Moolian	1	1	1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'	1647	1654
166 Arliewight	Young	Jonett	< dochter to Cristian Ruthv	1	1	1
167 Arliewight	Colt	Elspeit		1	1	1
168 Arliewight	Colt	Beatrix		1	1	1
169 Arliewight	Dow	Johne		1	1	1
170 Arliewight	Mullione	Mart	his spous	1	1	1
171 Arliewight	Dow	James		2	2	1
172 Arliewight	Dow	Andro		2	2	1
173 Arliewight	Quhatan	Jonett		1	1	1
174 Arliewight	Andersone	Hendrie		1	1	1
175 Arliewight	Pringill	Jonett	his spous	1	1	1
176 Arliewight	Ruthven	Cristiane	elder	1	1	1
177 Arliewight	Ruthven	Cristiane	younger	1	1	1
178 Arliewight	Andersone	Alexr		1	1	1
179 Arliewight	Clerk	Cristaine		1	1	1
180 Arliewight	Crichtonne	David		1	1	1
181 Arliewight	Dow	Jonet	his spous	1	1	1
182 Arliewight	Scot	Johne		1	1	1
183 Arliewight	Wat	Mart	his spous	1	1	1
184 Arliewight	Greigor	Duncan		1	1	1
185 Arliewight	Cochrone	Jeane	his spous	1	1	1
186 Arliewight	Brunson	James		1	1	1
187 Arliewight	Dow	Isobell	his spous	1	1	1
188 Arliewight	Schipert	George	elder	2	1	1
189 Arliewight	Schipert	George	younger	1	1	1
190 Arliewight	Pullor	Jonett	his spous	1	1	1
191 Arliewight	Schipert	Thomas		1	1	1
192 Muirland Ley	Crystie	Jonett	< servitor to Geo Schipert	1	1	1
193 Muirland Ley	Mare	James		2	2	1
194 Muirland Ley	Dow	Mart	his spous	2	2	1
195 Muirland Ley	Mare	Ellan	his dochter	2	2	1
196 Muirland Ley	Mare	Jeane	also his dochter	2	2	1
197 Muirland Ley	Fitt	Wiliame		1	1	1
198 Muirland Ley	Duncane	Isobell		1	1	1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten''1647 1654
199 Muirland Ley	Broosone	Isobel	< servitor to Wm Fitt	1 1
200 Muirland Ley	Burnemane	Johne		1 1
201 Muirland Ley	Mare	Cristaine	his spous	1 1
202 Muirland Ley	Alexander	Cistiane		1 1
203 Muirland Ley	Murray	Robert		1 1
204 Muirland Ley	Bowis	Mart		2 2
205 Muirland Ley	Fidler	Jeane		1 1
206 Miln of Arlewight	Stewart	Thomas	< servitor to Rot Murray (14)	1 1
207 Miln of Arlewight	Barbra	Schipert		2 1
208 Miln of Arlewight	Stewart	Jonet		2 1
209 Miln of Arlewight	Robertsonsone	George		2 1
210 Miln of Arlewight	Ruthven	Cristaine		1 1
211 Miln of Arlewight	Toschioch	Alexr	in Arlewight	1 1
212 Miln of Arlewight	Beatt	Crist	his spous	1 1
213 Kirkstyll of Auchtergavin	Jamesone	Johne	elder	1 1
214 Kirkstyll of Auchtergavin	Jamesone	Johne	younger	2 1
215 Kirkstyll of Auchtergavin	Watsonsone	Jonet		2 1
216 Kirkstyll of Auchtergavin	Jamesone	Jeane		2 1
217 Kirkstyll of Auchtergavin	Jamesone	Jonett		2 1
218 Kirkhill	Millar	Hugh		2 1
219 Kirkhill	Fearay	Cristiane		2 1
220 Kirkhill	Ramsay	James		1 1
221 Kirkhill	Millar	Ellan		1 1
222 Kirkhill	Millar	Elspet		2 1
223 Carneyhill	Donaldsone	William		2 2
224 Carneyhill	Wat	Grissell		2 2
225 Carneyhill	Donaldsone	Andro		2 2
226 Carneyhill	Calmyne	David		2 2
227 Carneyhill	Calmyne	Johne	his sone	2 2
228 Carneyhill	Calmyne	Mart	his dochter	2 2
229 Carneyhill	Bulzeiونس	Andro		2 2
230 Carneyhill	Donaldsone	Cristaine		1 1
231 Carneyhill	Forsyth	Johne		1 1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

	1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'1647 1654
232	Carneyhill	Burnman	Jonett		1
233	Carneyhill	Alexander	Cristiane		1
234	Carneyhill	Watson	Patrick		1
235	Newley	Haggart	William		2
236	Newley	Davidson	Cristiane		1
237	Bromepark	Burnman	John	elder	1
238	Bromepark	Burnman	John	younger	2
239	Bromepark	Burnman	issobell	<	2
240	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Murray	Margrat		1
241	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Gibbone	Agnes		2
242	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Watson	Margrat	< cottar	1
243	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	McBaith	John	< younger	1
244	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Ramsay	Margrat		1
245	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Baxter	John		2
246	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Young	Elspeit	his spous	2
247	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Watson	John		1
248	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Chamber	Bessie		1
249	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Watson	Thomas		1
250	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Piterkine	Elspeit		1
251	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Ross	John		1
252	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Findlayson	Jonett		1
253	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Black	Jonet		1
254	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	McBeath	John		1
255	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Wobster	Marlone		1
256	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Watson	William		1
257	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Blair	Margarat		1
258	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Watson	David		1
259	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	McKerse	Margrat		1
260	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Davidson	Donald		1
261	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Ruthven	James		1
262	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Greigor	Margrat		1
263	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Fleming	Alexr		1
264	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Fleming A's spous	.....	his spous	1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

	1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'16471654
265	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Brown	Thomas		1 1
266	Barns Auch'gvn & Dykhead	Brown	Isobell	his dochter	1 1
267	Manor Place of Auch't'gavn	Blair	Thomas		2 1
268	Manor Place of Auch't'gavn	Mitchell	Annas	his spous	2 1
269	Manor Place of Auch't'gavn	Brown	Thomas	his man	1 1
270	Manor Place of Auch't'gavn	Mitchell	John	<	1 1
271	Manor Place of Auch't'gavn	Finick	Johne	< servitor to Thomas Blair	1 1
272	Manor Place of Auch't'gavn	Finick	William	< servitor to Thomas Blair	1 1
273	Manor Place of Auch't'gavn	Mories	Donald	< his servant lykways	1 1
274	Manor Place of Auch't'gavn	Constable	Jean		1 1
275	Manor Place of Auch't'gavn	Charteris	Issobell		1 1
276	Ardonichie	Young	David		2 1
277	Ardonichie	Mar.	Mart	his spous	2 1
278	Ardonichie	Miller	Johne		1 1
279	Ardonichie	Galletly	Cristiane	his spous	1 1
280	Ardonichie	Quhyt	Agnes		1 1
281	Ardonichie	Thomas	Willame		2 1
282	Ardonichie	Scot	Issobell	his spous	2 1
283	Ardonichie	Thomas	Elspeit		2 1
284	Ardonichie	Mcclaran	James	< servitor to Wm Thomas	1 1
285	Ardonichie	Donaldsone	Andro		1 1
286	Ardonichie	Donaldsone	John		2 1
287	Ardonichie	Crichtonne	Marione		2 1
288	Ardonichie	Watt	Jonett	servitor	1 1
289	Ardonichie	Browne	Johne	< servitor to John Donaldson	1 1
290	Ardonichie	Browne	Barbra	< also his servant	1 1
291	Ardonichie	Young	Issobell		1 1
292	Ardonichie	Tailzour	Agnes		1 1
293	Ardonichie	Galletlie	Robert		2 1
294	Ardonichie	Andersone	Elspeit	his spouse	2 1
295	Ardonichie	Gallach	Isobell	his woman	1 1
296	Ardonichie	Duncan	Jean	< servitor to Rott Galletly	1 1
297	Ardonichie	Clerk	James		1 1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'	1647	1654
298 Ardonichie	Williamsons	Elspeit		1	1	1
299 Ardonichie	Clerk	Johne	< bairn to James Clerk	1	1	1
300 Ardonichie	Clerk	Margrat	< barin to James Clerk	1	1	1
301 Hilltoun of Strathhour	Finnik	Andro		2	1	1
302 Hilltoun of Strathhour	Garvy	Jean	his spous	2	1	1
303 Hilltoun of Strathhour	Finnik	Bessie	his dochter	2	1	1
304 Hilltoun of Strathhour	Dow	Patrick		1	1	1
305 Hilltoun of Strathhour	Young	Andro		1	1	1
306 Hilltoun of Strathhour	Merschell	Issobell	his spous	1	1	1
307 Hilltoun of Strathhour	Dow	Andro		1	1	1
308 Hilltoun of Strathhour	McBaith	Margrat		1	1	1
309 Strathhour	Strathhour, Laird			2	1	1
310 Strathhour	Strathhour's Lady		and ther servandis	2	1	1
311 Strathhour	....	....	Strathhour's servant	1	1	1
312 Strathhour	....	....	Strathhour's servant	1	1	1
313 Strathhour	Bonar	James		1	1	1
314 Strathhour	Dow	William		1	1	1
315 Strathhour	Dow	Wm's wife	his spous (at Strathhour)	1	1	1
316 Strathhour	Ruthven	David	< younger	1	1	1
317 Strathhour	Clerk	Beatrix	< servitor to Laird Strathhour	1	1	1
318 Strathhour	Cairae	Hellan	< [K]envyff	1	1	1
319 Strathhour	Dick	William	< ther	1	1	1
320 Strathhour	Gibb	Agnes	< in Strathhour	1	1	1
321 Strathhour	Doge	Cathraine		1	1	1
322 Strathhour	Gibe	Agnes		1	1	1
323 Strathhour	Farchar	Alexr		1	1	1
324 Strathhour	Innes	Johne		1	1	1
325 Strathhour	Ruthven	David		1	1	1
326 Strathhour	Ruthven	Cathraine		1	1	1
327 Strathhour	Ruthven	James		1	1	1
328 Strathhour	Ruthven	Mart		1	1	1
329 New Mylne of Strathurd	Grymen	James		1	1	1
330 New Mylne of Strathurd	Watsons	Jonett	< servitor to James Grymen	2	1	1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'	1647	1654
331 New Mylne of Strathurd	Dow	Donald		1	1	1
332 New Mylne of Strathurd	Watson	Jeane		1	1	1
333 New Mylne of Strathurd	Doge	William		1	1	1
334 New Mylne of Strathurd	Bissat	Mart	his spous	1	1	1
335 New Mylne of Strathurd	Doge	Johne	his sone	1	1	1
336 New Mylne of Strathurd	Doge	Mart	his dochter	1	1	1
337 Quhyte Knowis	Finik	Jon		2	1	1
338 Quhyte Knowis	Watt	Marion	his spous	2	1	1
339 Quhyte Knowis	Dow	Jon		1	1	1
340 Quhyte Knowis	Finik	Helin	his spous	1	1	1
341 Gallowhill	Gow	James		2	1	1
342 Gallowhill	Pullor	Geilles	his spouse	2	1	1
343 Gallowhill	Pullor	Mart	< servitor to James Gow	1	1	1
344 Gallowhill	Coult	Jonet	<	1	1	1
345 Gallowhill	Gow	Johne		1	1	1
346 Gallowhill	Pullor	Elspeit	his spous	1	1	1
347 Gallowhill	Mian	Thomas		1	1	1
348 Gallowhill	Mown	Johne		1	1	1
349 Gallowhill	Alexander	Isobell	his spous	1	1	1
350 Woodend of Strathourd	Murray	Robert		2	1	1
351 Woodend of Strathourd	Crichtonne	'''''	his spous	2	1	1
352 Woodend of Strathourd	Dae	Johne	<	1	1	1
353 Woodend of Strathourd	Finik	Hellen	< his spous	1	1	1
354 Neilshank	Millar	Johne		2	1	1
355 Neilshank	Annet	Mart	his spous	2	1	1
356 Neilshank	Millar	Jonet	his dochter	2	1	1
357 Neilshank	Tailzeour	William		1	1	1
358 Neilshank	Crombie	Eupham	his spous	1	1	1
359 Neilshank	Gib	Andro		1	1	1
360 Neilshank	Dow	Jonet	his spous	1	1	1
361 Neilshank	Finlay	James		1	1	1
362 Neilshank	Lealman	Jonett	his spous	1	1	1
363 Neilshank	Lealman	Grisell		1	1	1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'	1647	1654
364 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Drysdail	Andro	2	1	1
365 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Drysdail	Finlay	2	1	1
366 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Bell	Jeane	1	1	1
367 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Allan	John	1	1	1
368 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Clerk	Margrat	1	1	1
369 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	clerk	Mart	1	1	1
370 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Ellis	John	1	1	1
371 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Tailzeour	Barbra	1	1	1
372 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Ellis	John	1	1	1
373 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Ellis	John	1	1	1
374 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Young	Christiane	1	1	1
375 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Watt	Thomas	1	1	1
376 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Tailzeour	Jonet	1	1	1
377 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Watt	John	1	1	1
378 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Watt	Margrat	1	1	1
379 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Watt	Cathrain	1	1	1
380 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Watt	Cathrain	1	1	1
381 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Dowglas	Thomas	1	1	1
382 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Andersone	Marjorie	1	1	1
383 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Watt	James	1	1	1
384 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Mertaine	Cristaine	1	1	1
385 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Tailzeour	John	2	1	1
386 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Tailzeour	John	1	1	1
387 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Watt	Margrat	1	1	1
388 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Tailzeour	Walter	1	1	1
389 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Irland	Issobell	1	1	1
390 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Irland	Elspeit	1	1	1
391 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Grymen	John	1	1	1
392 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Cathring	Greigor	1	1	1
393 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Cauchran	John	1	1	1
394 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Walker	Patrick	1	1	1
395 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	Michell	Alexr	1	1	1
396 Meikell	Tullybeltaine	McInnes	Jonet	1	1	1

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APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'116471654
397 Meikell Tullybeltaine	Crichtone	James		1 1
398 Meikell Tullybeltaine	Douglas	Jonet		1 1
399 Meikell Tullybeltaine	Malcolme	Johnne		1 1
400 Meikell Tullybeltaine	Graham	Jonet	his spous	1 1
401 Meikell Tullybeltaine	Douglas	Donald		1 1
402 Meikell Tullybeltaine	Malcolme	Johnne		1 1
403 Meikell Tullybeltaine	Graham	Jonet	his spous	1 1
404 Meikell Tullybeltaine	McKeith	Johnne		1 1
405 Meikell Tullybeltaine	Young	Jonett	his spous	1 1
406 Meikell Tullybeltaine	Menzies	Annas		1 1
407 Gourdiehill	Mcallesch	James		1 1
408 Gourdiehill	Peddie	....	his spous	2 1
409 Gourdiehill	Peddie	Johnne		2 1
410 Gourdiehill	Greigor	Issobell	his spous	1 1
411 Gourdiehill	Merschell	Walter		1 1
412 Hill of Kinlands	Fleck	Alexr	<	1 1
413 Hill of Kinlands	Finick	Issobell	< his spous	2 1
414 Hill of Kinlands	Finick	David	< his brother	2 1
415 Hill of Kinlands	Baine	Alexr		1 1
416 Hill of Kinlands	Flemyng	Cristaine	his spous	1 1
417 Hill of Kinlands	Baine	William		1 1
418 Hill of Kinlands	Watt	Elspet	his spous	1 1
419 Hill of Kinlands	Baing	William	<	1 1
420 Hill of Kinlands	Baine	William		1 1
421 Hill of Kinlands	Anderson	Elspet	his spous	1 1
422 Hill of Kinlands	Crerar	Alexr		1 1
423 Hill of Kinlands	Malcolme	Mart	his spous	1 1
424 Cockerstone of Kinlands	Broune	William		2 1
425 Cockerstone of Kinlands	Crerar	Cristiane	his spous	2 1
426 Cockerstone of Kinlands	Broune	Johnne	his son	2 1
427 Cockerstone of Kinlands	Broune	Jonet	his dochter	2 1
428 Cockerstone of Kinlands	Merschell	Issobell		1 1
429 Cockerstone of Kinlands	Dow	Johnne		1 1

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APPENDIX ONE

	1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'116471654
430	Drumquhar	Nesmyth	James		2 1
431	Drumquhar	McKie	Jonet	his spous	1 1
432	Drumquhar	Nesmyth	Johne	his sone	2 1
433	Drumquhar	McKie	William		1 1
434	Drumquhar	Grahame	Jonett	his spous	1 1
435	Drumquhar	McKie	William	his sone	1 1
436	Drumquhar	McKie	Johne	his sone	1 1
437	Drumquhar	Garrow	Donald		1 1
438	Drumquhar	Boag	Mart	his spous	1 1
439	Drumquhar	Garrow	Johne	his sone	1 1
440	Drumquhar	Garrow	Jonet	his dochter	1 1
441	Drumquhar	Merschell	David		1 1
442	Drumquhar	Peddie	Jonet	his spous	1 1
443	Drumquhar	Merschell	Walter		1 1
444	Drumquhar	Merschell	James	his sone	1 1
445	Drumquhar	Pullor	Johne		1 1
446	Drumquhar	Broune	.....	his spous	1 1
447	Drumquhar	Pullor	Margrat		1 1
448	Drumquhar	Pullor	Jeane		1 1
449	Drumquhar	Pullor	Jonet	his bairnes	1 1
450	Drumquhar	Person	Robert		1 1
451	Schanvall	Crerar	Gilbert		1 1
452	Schanvall	Merschell	Issobell	his spous	2 1
453	Schanvall	Camrone	Alexr		1 1
454	Schanvall	Crichtonne	Ellan	his spous	1 1
455	Schanvall	Camrone	George	his sone	1 1
456	Waster Tounes of Kindland	Greigor	William		2 1
457	Waster Tounes of Kindland	Greigor	James		2 1
458	Waster Tounes of Kindland	Allan	Cathrand		1 1
459	Waster Tounes of Kindland	Greigor	Cristaine		1 1
460	Waster Tounes of Kindland	Bell	Johne		1 1
461	Waster Tounes of Kindland	Andersone	< his spous	1 1
462	Waster Tounes of Kindland	Person	James		1 1

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APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'1647 1654
463 Waster Tounes of Kindland	Merschell	Issobell		1 1
464 Waster Tounes of Kindland	Merschell	Elspet		1 1
465 Waster Tounes of Kindland	Low	Andro		2 1
466 Waster Tounes of Kindland	Andersone	Jonett	his spous	2 1
467 Waster Tounes of Kindland	Douglas	James	ther man	1 1
468 Waster Tounes of Kindland	Andersone	Elspet		1 1
469 Waster Tounes of Kindland	Bell	Patrick		1 1
470 Waster Tounes of Kindland	Robertsons	Johne		1 1
471 Myln of Tullybeltane	Young	Thomas		2 1
472 Myln of Tullybeltane	Elles	Elspet		1 1
473 Myln of Tullybeltane	Dowglas	Johne		1 1
474 Myln of Tullybeltane	Elles	Mart		1 1
475 At the Place of TullybeltarGrasich		Johne		1 1
476 At the Place of TullybeltarCrerar		Mare		2 1
477 At the Place of TullybeltarDowglas		Donald		1 1
478 At the Place of TullybeltarMalcome		Johne		1 1
479 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Lambe	Alexr	<	1 1
480 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Ineice	Johne	<	1 1
481 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Baquhanon	Elspeit	< his spous	1 1
482 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Longid	Agnes	<	1 1
483 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Garvy	William		2 1
484 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Dow	Cristiane	his spous	2 1
485 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Garvy	Patrik		1 1
486 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Werth	Agnes	his spous	1 1
487 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Garvy	Jonett	his dochter	1 1
488 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Pullor	Johne	< servitor to Wm Garvy	1 1
489 Cairntoune of Strathurd	Main	Elspeit	<	1 1
490 Littell Tullybeltane	Bruih	William		1 1
491 Littell Tullybeltane	Tailzeour	Issobell	< his spous	1 1
492 Littell Tullybeltane	Forsyth	John		2 1
493 Littell Tullybeltane	Finlay	Jonett	his spous	2 1
494 Littell Tullybeltane	Dow	Andro		1 1
495 Littell Tullybeltane	Greigor	< his spous	1 1

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APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'116471654
496 Hillheid	Finick	John		2 1
497 Hillheid	Finick	James	his sone	2 1
498 Hillheid	Finick	.....	also his sone	2 1
499 Hillheid	Schiphurd	Patrik		1 1
500 Hillheid	McPatrick	Agnes		1 1
501 Blairfarkill	Greigor	Robert	in Blairfarschell	1 1
502 Blairfarkill	Tailyor	Jonet	his spous	2 1
503 Blairfarkill	Young	Jonett	ther servand	1 1
504 Nether Waster Obney	Keir	Duncan		2 2
505 Nether Waster Obney	Donaldsone	Margrat	his spous	2 2
506 Nether Waster Obney	Keir	John	his sone	2 2
507 Nether Waster Obney	Keir	Jonett	<	2 2
508 Nether Waster Obney	Donaldsone	John	<	2 2
509 Nether Waster Obney	Donaldsone	Thomas		2 2
510 Nether Waster Obney	Dow	William		2 2
511 Nether Waster Obney	Wobster	Cristaine	his spous	2 2
512 Nether Waster Obney	Dow	Andro		2 2
513 Nether Waster Obney	Suneas	Agnes	his spous	2 2
514 Nether Waster Obney	Dow	James		2 2
515 Nether Waster Obney	Riach	Mart	his spous	2 2
516 Nether Waster Obney	Ruchie	Jean	< servitor to Jas Donaldson	2 2
517 Nether Waster Obney	Andersone	John	<	2 2
518 Nether Waster Obney	Caw	Marjorie	< his spous	2 2
519 Nether Waster Obney	McDuff	James		2 2
520 Nether Waster Obney	Drydeall	Mart	his spous	2 2
521 Nether Waster Obney	Gelletlie	Isobell	<	2 2
522 Nether Waster Obney	Sprunt	Andro	<	2 2
523 Over Wester Obney	Dow	James		2 2
524 Over Wester Obney	Tod	Cristiane	< his spous	2 2
525 Over Wester Obney	McCondochie	Jon		2 2
526 Over Wester Obney	Burne	Jonett	his spous	2 2
527 Over Wester Obney	Donaldsone	William		2 2
528 Over Wester Obney	Bell	Cathraine	his spous	2 2

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APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'1647 1654
529 Over Wester Obney	Donaldsone	James		2 1 2
530 Over Wester Obney	Mar.	Jonett	his spous	2 1 2
531 Over Wester Obney	Greigor	James		1 1 1
532 Over Wester Obney	McKevin	Marjorie	his spous	1 1 1
533 Over Wester Obney	Greigor	Cathrine		1 1 1
534 Over Wester Obney	Mccincater	William		1 1 1
535 Meikell Obney	Dow	John		2 1 2
536 Meikell Obney	Grymen	Marjorie		2 1 2
537 Meikell Obney	Dow	Donald		2 1 2
538 Meikell Obney	Dow	Jonett		2 1 2
539 Meikell Obney	Dow	Andro	< dochter to Jon Dow	2 1 2
540 Meikell Obney	Meik	George		1 1 2
541 Meikell Obney	Brydue	Jonet		1 1 1
542 Meikell Obney	Meik	Robert		1 1 1
543 Meikell Obney	Meik	Cathrine		1 1 1
544 Meikell Obney	Donaldsone	Robert		2 1 2
545 Meikell Obney	Gory	Janett	< his servand	1 1 1
546 Meikell Obney	Donaldsone	Ellan		2 1 2
547 Meikell Obney	Forbes	Andro		1 1 1
548 Meikell Obney	Martaine	Cenell	his spous	1 1 1
549 Meikell Obney	Forbes	.....	his dochter	1 1 1
550 Meikell Obney	McPae	Andro		1 1 1
551 Meikell Obney	Young	Isobell	his spous	1 1 1
552 Meikell Obney	McPae	Robert		1 1 1
553 Meikell Obney	Andersone	Janett	his spous	1 1 1
554 Meikell Obney	Galletlie	John		2? 1 1
555 Meikell Obney	Donaldsone	Isobell	his spous	1 1 1
556 Meikell Obney	Pattone	John		1 1 1
557 Meikell Obney	Pattone	.....	his sister	1 1 1
558 Meikell Obney	Lowrance	Cristaine		1 1 1
559 Meikell Obney	Dow	William		2? 1 1
560 Meikell Obney	Wylie	Janett	his spous	1 1 1
561 Morredstoune	Grymen	Andro		2 1 2

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APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'	1647	1654
562 Morredstoun	Watson	Catharine		2	1	2
563 Morredstoun	Grymen	Patrick		2	1	2
564 Morredstoun	Grymen	George		2	1	2
565 Morredstoun	Grymen	William		2	1	2
566 Morredstoun	Duncan	Jonett	< servitor to Andro Grymen	1	1	1
567 Morredstoun	Waterstone	David		2	1	2
568 Morredstoun	Laikie	Jean	his spous	2	1	2
569 Morredstoun	Waterstone	Andro	<	2	1	2
570 Morredstoun	servant to Rodgie	.....	< man servant to And Rodgie	1	1	1
571 Morredstoun	servant to Rodgie	.....	< man servant to And Rodgie	1	1	1
572 Morredstoun	Glas	.....	< spous to Rodgies servant	1	1	1
573 Morredstoun	McGille	Andro	chalm'd (Chamberlain?)	1	1	1
574 Morredstoun	Harvy	Cristaine		1	1	1
575 Morredstoun	Harvy	Patrik		1	1	1
576 Morredstoun	Donaldson	.....	his spous	1	1	1
577 Morredstoun *	Dow	Isobell		1	1	1
578 Logiebryd Paroch, Loak	Gibson	James		1	1	1
579 Loak	Finick	Jonett	his spous	2	1	1
580 Loak	Gibson	Andro		2	1	1
581 Loak	Gibson	Robert		2	1	1
582 Loak	Gilbert	Catharine	<	1	1	1
583 Loak	Brydie	Marjorie	<	1	1	1
584 Loak	Mullion	Mart		1	1	1
585 Loak	Anderson	Marjorie		1	1	1
586 Loak	Trumbell	John		1	1	1
587 Loak	Trumbell J's spous.....		his spous	1	1	1
588 Loak	Gilbert	Mart		1	1	1
589 Loak	Young	Jonet		1	1	1
590 Loak	Harvy	Isobell		1	1	1
591 Loak	Croay	John		1	1	1
592 Loak	Meill	Jonet		1	1	1
593 Loak	Tailzour	John		1	1	1
594 Loak	Thomas	Jonett	his spous	1	1	1

18

(* OBANES & MUIRLLANDS TOTAL = 88)

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'11647 1654
595 Loak	Young	John		1
596 Loak	Anderson	Jonet	his spous	1
597 Loak	Young	Mart	his dochter	1
598 Loak	Fleming	Andro		1
599 Loak	Fleming A's spous	.....	his spous	1
600 Loak	Fleming	Andro	his sone	1
601 Loak	Fleming	Mart	his dochter	1
602 Loak	Robertson	Jon		1
603 Loak	Gilbert	Jonet	his spous	1
604 Loak	Boyd	William		1
605 Loak	McDuff	.....	his spous	1
606 Loak	Donaldson	Isobell	his mother	1
607 Loak	Morison	John		1
608 Loak	Brown	Barbra	his spous	1
609 Loak	Gilbert	Catharine		1
610 Loak	Froster	Robert		1
611 Loak	Steill	Mart	his spous	1
612 Loak	Reid	Jon		1
613 Loak	Synderson	.....	his spous	1
614 Loak	Jacstone	.....		1
615 Loak	Nairne	Patrik		1
616 Loak	Nairne	Robert		1
617 Loak	Nairne Nairne	Mart		1
618 Loak	Grymen	Patrik		1
619 Loak	Gray	Issobell	his spous	1
620 Loak	Grymen	James	his sone	1
621 Rashiley	Drydeill	Andro		2
622 Rashiley	Galletlie	Jonet		1
623 Rashiley	Finik	John		1
624 Rashiley	Watt	Isobell	his spous	1
625 Rashiley	Fongow	Thomas	<	1
626 Rashiley	Watt	Jonet	<	1
627 Rashiley	Watt	James	<	1

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APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'116471654
628 Rashiley	Watt	Jon		1
629 Rashiley	Cant	Elspeit	his spous	1
630 Rashiley	Greigor	James		1
631 Rashiley	Will	Ellen	his spous	1
632 Ledmoir	Pullor	Gilbert		2
633 Ledmoir	Galletlie	Jonet	his spous	2
634 Ledmoir	Davidsons	Alexr		1
635 Ledmoir	Robertsons	Mart	his spous	1
636 Ledmoir	Davidsons	Jon	his sone	1
637 Ledmoir	Finik	John		1
638 Ledmoir	Quhyt	Jonet	his spous	1
639 Ledmoir	Scot	Ellen		1
640 Ledmoir	Davidsons	Jonett		1
641 Ledmoir	Cruikshank	Jonett		1
642 Balmacotlie	Andersone	William		2
643 Balmacotlie	Gray	Jeane	his spous	2
644 Balmacotlie	Mertaine	Jeane	<	1
645 Balmacotlie	Overgrasich	John		1
646 Balmacotlie	Overgrasichs spous.....		his spous	1
647 Balmacotlie	Reid	John		1
648 Balmacotlie	Dow	.....	his spous	1
649 Balmacotlie	Finik	Thomas		1
650 Balmacotlie	Drysdell	Mart	<	1
651 Balmacotlie	Fitt	William	in Golhill [ffitt]	1
652 Balmacotlie	Fitt	Geilles	his dochter [ffitt]	1
653 Balmacotlie	Grant	James	at ye Kirk of Logiebryd	1
654 Balmacotlie	Andersone	Jonett	his spous	1
655 Litill Hillheid	Dow	Jon		2
656 Litill Hillheid	Finik	Mart	his spous	2
657 Litill Hillheid	Dow	Jon	his sone	2
658 Litill Hillheid	Dow	Mart	<	2
659 Litill Hillheid	Finik	John		1
660 Litill Hillheid	Dow	Cristiane		1

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APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'116471654
661 Litill Hillheid	Finik	Cathraine	<	1
662 Litill Hillheid	Finik	Jonett	his dochter	1
663 Hill of Logiebryd	Dow	John		2
664 Hill of Logiebryd	Anderson	Barbra	his spous	2
665 Hill of Logiebryd	Finik	John		1
666 Hill of Logiebryd	Greigor	Isobell		1
667 Hill of Logiebryd	Finik	Cathring	his dochter	1
668 Over Blelock	Watt	Andro	elder	2
669 Over Blelock	Lamb	Geillies	his spous	2
670 Over Blelock	Watt	Andro	younger	2
671 Over Blelock	Grymen	Cristaine	his spous	1
672 Over Blelock	Watt	.....	his dochter	1
673 Over Blelock	Watt	William		1
674 Over Blelock	Grymen	Mart	his spous	1
675 Over Blelock	Greigor	Jon		1
676 Over Blelock	Watt	Jeane	his spous	1
677 Spidihillock	Gray	Edward	in Spidihillock	2
678 Spidihillock	Garvy	Janet	his spous	2
679 Spidihillock	Gray	William	his son	2
680 Spidihillock	Crichtonne	Andro		1
681 Spidihillock	Crichtonne	John	his	1
682 Spidihillock	Glaschen	James		1
683 Spidihillock	Tallour	Elspeit	his spous	1
684 Nather Blelock	Crichtonne	James	elder	2
685 Nather Blelock	Pullor	Mart	his spous	2
686 Nather Blelock	Crichtonne	Patrick		2
687 Nather Blelock	Pullor	Jonett		1
688 Nather Blelock	Crichtonne	James	younger	1
689 Nather Blelock	Moncrieff	Annas	his spous	1
690 Nather Blelock	Moncrieff	Alexr		1
691 Nather Blelock	Moncrieff's dochte.....		and Moncrieff his dochteris	1
692 Nather Blelock	Moncrieff's dochte.....		and Moncrieff his dochteris	1
693 Nather Blelock	Donaldsone	John		2

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'	1647	1654
694 Nather Blelock	Mitchell	Jonett		1	1	1
695 Nather Blelock	Mill	William	< servitor to John Donaldson	1	1	1
696 Nather Blelock	Robertson	James		1	1	1
697 Nather Blelock	Burne	John		1	1	1
698 Nather Blelock	Puller	Alexr		1	1	1
699 Nather Blelock	Browne	Jonett		1	1	1
700 Nather Blelock	Pullor	George		1	1	1
701 Nather Blelock	Pullor	Catharine		1	1	1
702 Nather Blelock	Browne	John		1	1	1
703 Nather Blelock	Carter	Jonett	his spous	1	1	1
704 Nather Blelock	Miller	James		1	1	1
705 Nather Blelock	Mar.	Elspet		1	1	1
706 Nather Blelock	McDuff	John		1	1	1
707 Nather Blelock	Shipthrd	Jonett	his spous	1	1	1
708 Nather Blelock	Boyd	William		1	1	1
709 Nather Blelock	Gibson	Jonett	his spous	1	1	1
710 Nather Blelock	Tailzour	David		1	1	1
711 Nather Blelock	Boyd	Jonet	his spous	1	1	1
712 Nather Blelock	Tailzour	Thomas	his sone	1	1	1
713 Nather Blelock	Tailzour	John	his sone	1	1	1
714 Nather Blelock	Dow	William		1	1	1
715 Nather Blelock	Mersser	Mart.	his spous	1	1	1
716 Nather Blelock	Dow	John	his sone	1	1	1
717 Nather Blelock	Dow	Jonett	his dochter	1	1	1
718 Nather Blelock	Miller	Patrick		1	1	1
719 Nather Blelock	Galletlie	Elspet		1	1	1
720 Nather Blelock	Galletlie	Alexr		1	1	1
721 Nather Blelock	Miller	Agnes	his spous	1	1	1
722 Nather Blelock	Galletlie	Jonet		1	1	1
723 Nather Blelock	Boyd	Elspet		1	1	1
724 Nather Blelock	Logie	Cristaine		1	1	1
725 Nather Blelock	Mertaine	Cristaine		1	1	1
726 Nather Blelock	Logie	Isobell		1	1	1

APPENDIX ONE

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'	1647	1654
727 Tullybagilles, Drumfearnmok	Greigor	John		2	1	1
728 Drumfearnmok	Cochrone	Ellen	his spous	2	1	1
729 Drumfearnmok	Greigor	Patrik		2	1	1
730 Drumfearnmok	Greigor	Williame	his sone	2	1	1
731 Drumfearnmok	Keir	Agnes	his servand	1	1	1
732 Drumfearnmok	Greigor	Williame		2	1	1
733 Drumfearnmok	Tailzour	Margrat		2	1	1
734 Drumfearnmok	Young	Mart		1	1	1
735 Drumfearnmok	Soutar	William	his servand	1	1	1
736 Drumfearnmok	Soutar	James		1	1	1
737 Drumfearnmok	Dyckis	Mart		1	1	1
738 Drumfearnmok	Bisatt	Mart		1	1	1
739 Drumfearnmok	Fitt	William		1	1	1
740 Drumfearnmok	Nicoll	James		1	1	1
741 Drumfearnmok	Fitt	Jeane		1	1	1
742 Riachstoune	Jamesone	Patrik		2	1	1
743 Riachstoune	Young	Issobell		1	1	1
744 Riachstoune	Maxwell	Willaiame		1	1	1
745 Riachstoune	Grymen	Elspet		1	1	1
746 Belstoune	Grymen	Patrik		2	1	1
747 Belstoune	Ruthven	Jeane		2	1	1
748 Belstoune	Grymen	John		2	1	1
749 Belstoune	Pattone	Mart		1	1	1
750 Belstoune	Grymen	James		1	1	1
751 Belstoune	Veig	Mart		1	1	1
752 Belstoune	Litiljohn	John		1	1	1
753 Belstoune	Litiljohn	Mart		1	1	1
754 Belstoune	Flemmyng	Cathrine		1	1	1
755 Belstoune	Boyd	John		1	1	1
756 Belstoune	McCondochie	Jonett		1	1	1
757 Belstoune	Garvy	Mart		1	1	1
758 Belstoune	Mchomes	John		1	1	1
759 Belstoune	Eassone	Cristaine		1	1	1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'	1647	1654
760 Belstoune	Clerk	James		1	1	1
761 Belstoune	Fuit	Jonet		1	1	1
762 Balcharine	Mowris	Johnne		2	1	1
763 Balcharine	Pyper	Cathrine		1	1	1
764 Balcharine	Herres	James		1	1	1
765 Balcharine	Greigor	Jonett		1	1	1
766 Balcharine	Pattone	Andro		1	1	1
767 Balcharine	Keir	Cristaine		1	1	1
768 Balcharine	Eldge	Patrik		1	1	1
769 Balcharine	McWilliam	Jonet		1	1	1
770 Balcharine	Calmyne	Donald		1	1	1
771 Balcharine	Mewris	George		1	1	1
772 Balcharine	Cochrane	Mart		1	1	1
773 Balcharine	Mewris	George	younger	1	1	1
774 Balcharine	Donaldsone	Jonett		1	1	1
775 Balcharine	Mewris	Cristaine		1	1	1
776 Balcharine	Pattone	James		1	1	1
777 Balcharine	Duff	Agness		1	1	1
778 Balcharine	Fuit	Johnne		1	1	1
779 Gibbonstoune	McDuff	Johnne		2	1	1
780 Gibbonstoune	Keir	Cristiane	his spous	2	1	1
781 Gibbonstoune	McDuff	Patrik		2	1	1
782 Gibbonstoune	McDuff	Johnne	his sone	2	1	1
783 Gibbonstoune	McDuff	James	his sone	2	1	1
784 Gibbonstoune	Herres	Cathrine		1	1	1
785 Gibbonstoune	Dow	Janett	yr	1	1	1
786 Gibbonstoune	Merschel	Cristaine		1	1	1
787 Gibbonstoune	Syme	Johnne		1	1	1
788 Gibbonstoune	Ruthven	Johnne		1	1	1
789 Gibbonstoune	Keir	Cristaine		1	1	1
790 Gibbonstoune	Donaldsone	Robert		1	1	1
791 Gibbonstoune	Keir	.....	< spous to Rob Donaldson	1	1	1
792 Gibbonstoune	McKevine	Cristaine		1	1	1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'116471654
793 Clack	Mitchell	Alexr		2 1
794 Clack	Murray	Jonett		1 1
795 Clack	McDuff	Alexr		1 1
796 Clack	Merschell	Marjorie		1 1
797 Clack	Shipehord	Willame		1 1
798 Clack	Litiljohnne	Jonett		1 1
799 Clack	Greigor	Willame		1 1
800 Clack	Ruthven	Mart		1 1
801 Berriehill	Crichtonne	Donald		1 1
802 Berriehill	McDuff	Cristiane	his spous	2 1
803 Berriehill	Crichtonne	Johne		2 1
804 Berriehill	Crichtonne	Jonett	his spous	1 1
805 Berriehill	Ellies	Johne		1 1
806 Berriehill	McPatrik	Agness	his spous	1 1
807 Berriehill	Garrow	Johne		1 1
808 Berriehill	McHendrik	Mart.	his spous	1 1
809 Berriehill	Garrow	Donald	his sone	1 1
810 Barronie of Mullione	Fergusson	Duncan	of Mullione	2 1
811 Barronie of Mullione	Fergusson	James	his sone	2 1
812 Barronie of Mullione	Gillevoir	Marjorie		1 1
813 Barronie of Mullione	Andersone	Johne		1 1
814 Barronie of Mullione	Irland	Marion	his spous	1 1
815 Barronie of Mullione	Elisone	Thomas		1 1
816 Barronie of Mullione	Tailzour	Jonett	his spous	1 1
817 Barronie of Mullione	Johne	Elisone		1 1
818 Sockach	Merschell	Thomas		2 1
819 Sockach	Nicoll	Bessie	his spous	2 1
820 Sockach	Merschell	Walter		1 1
821 Sockach	Forsyth	Jonet	his spous	1 1
822 Sockach	Merschell	Duncan		1 1
823 Sockach	Forsyth	Jonett	his spous	1 1
824 Mertoune	Nicoll	David		2 1
825 Mertoune	Miller	Elspeit	his spous	2 1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

APPENDIX ONE

1650c locations	surname	forename	notes	ten'	1647	1654
826 Dowglastoun	Allan	John		2	1	1
827 Dowglastoun	Garvy	Cristaine	his spous	2	1	1
828 Dowglastoun	Bell	John		1	1	1
829 Dowglastoun	Alesone	Jonett		1	1	1
830 Dowglastoun	Nicoll	James		1	1	1
831 Dowglastoun	Allan	James		1	1	1
832 Mains of Mullione	Black	William		2	1	1
833 Mains of Mullione	Peddle	John		1	1	1
834 Mains of Mullione	Black	Cristaine		2	1	1
835 Mains of Mullione	Peddle	John	younger	1	1	1
836 Litilltoun of Mullione	Roy Fischer alias:John	John	alias Menzies	2	1	1
837 Litilltoun of Mullione	Roy Fischers spous.....		his spous	2	1	1
838 Litilltoun of Mullione	Tailzour	John		1	1	1
839 Head of Mullione	McDuff	Patrik		2	1	1
840 Head of Mullione	McDuff P's spous	.....	his spous	2	1	1
841 Head of Mullione	Greigor	William	elder	1	1	1
842 Head of Mullione	Greigor	William	younger	1	1	1
843 Head of Mullione	Nicoll	Issobell		1	1	1
844 Head of Mullione	Peddle	Issobell		1	1	1
845 Head of Mullione	Fischer	William		1	1	1
846 Head of Mullione	Dow	Jonett	his spous	1	1	1
847 Head of Mullione	Roy	James		1	1	1
848 Head of Mullione	McKendray	Marie	his spous	1	1	1
849 Head of Mullione	Steine	John		1	1	1
850 Head of Mullione	Steine J's spous	.....	his spous	1	1	1
851 Head of Mullione	Roy	John	ther	1	1	1
852 Burmestone	Crozet	David	servitor to Wm Crichtonne	1	1	1
853 Jackstoun	Nairn	John		2	1	1
854 Jackstoun	Nairn	Robert		2	1	1
855 Cowford	Barie	John		2	1	1
856 Cowford	Tailzour	Issobell	his spous	2	1	1
857 Cowford	Watt	John	his servant	1	1	1
858 Cowford	Grant	Alexr		1	1	1

Inhabitants of Auchtergaven 1650c. 1 = subtenants, cottars etc. 2 = identifiable tenants

	1650c locations	surname	forename	his spous	notes	ten'	1647	1654
859	Cowford	Barie	....			1	1	1
860	Cowford	Cock	Patrik			1	1	1
861	Cowford	Barie	Cristaine	his spous		1	1	1
862	Cowford	Cock	Issobell	his dochter		1	1	1
863	Neillls haughe	Miller	Williame	sone lawful	to Johne Mille:	2	1	1
864	Neillls haughe	Pullor	Jonett	servitor to	William Tailzor	1	1	1
865	Neillls haughe	Tailzour	Margrat	his (Wm Tailzous)	dochter	1	1	1
866	Neillls haughe	Castie	Jonet			1	1	1

APPENDIX ONE

APPENDIX II.

INHABITANTS OF THE OBNIES AND MUIRHEDSTOWN 1791

The list of 'The Inhabitants in that Part of the Parish of Auchtergaven called the Obnies and Muirhedstown belonging to George Stewart Esqr of Grandtully, 1791, in the Murthly Castle Muniments (GD121/1/224/1), was used for comparison with a listing for the same area of what is likely to have been the tenants only paying teind rentals between 1654 and 1657 (GD121/41/223/39). See also pages 59-62.

Of interest here, perhaps more so to the family historian, is the profusion of persons with the surname Dow. They amount to 31 per cent of the population of the Obnies, and 26 per cent of those in the district including Muirhedstown.

APPENDIX TWO

Obnies etc. tenants & others 1791

	location	surname	firstname	notes	families	tenant
1	Meikle Obnie	Bullions	Janet	widow	1	2
2	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Andrew	her son		2
3	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Grizzel	her daughter		2
4	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Margaret	her daughter		2
5	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Thomas		1	1
6	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Janet	his wife		1
7	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Thomas	his son		1
8	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Andrew	his son		1
9	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Margaret	his daughter		1
10	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Jean	his daughter		1
11	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Peter		1	2
12	Meikle Obnie	Millar	Janet	his wife		2
13	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Thomas	his son		2
14	Meikle Obnie	Dow	James	his son		2
15	Meikle Obnie	Dow	John	his son		2
16	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Mary			2
17	Meikle Obnie	Williamson	Janet	7 persons	1	1
18	Meikle Obnie	Marshall	Peter		1	2
19	Meikle Obnie	Marshall	Agnes	his wife		2
20	Meikle Obnie	Marshall	Peter	his son		2
21	Meikle Obnie	Marshall	Margaret	his daughter		2
22	Meikle Obnie	Marshall	William		1	1
23	Meikle Obnie	Williamson	Margaret	his wife		1
24	Meikle Obnie	McKenzie	William		1	2
25	Meikle Obnie	Cout	Mary	his wife		2
26	Meikle Obnie	McKenzie	James	his son		2
27	Meikle Obnie	McKenzie	Ann	his daughter		2
28	Meikle Obnie	Duff	James		1	2
29	Meikle Obnie	Leslie	Grizzel	his wife		2
30	Meikle Obnie	Duff	William	his son		2
31	Meikle Obnie	Duff	John	his son		2
32	Meikle Obnie	Duff	Robert	his son		2
33	Meikle Obnie	Duff	Christian	his sister		2
34	Meikle Obnie	Jack	Grizzel	widow	1	2
35	Meikle Obnie	Donaldson	William	her son		2
36	Meikle Obnie	Donaldson	Janet	her daughter		2
37	Meikle Obnie	Donaldson	Alexr	her young son		2
38	Meikle Obnie	Marshall	Peter		1	2
39	Meikle Obnie	Young	Margaret	his wife		2
40	Meikle Obnie	Marshall	John	his son		2
41	Meikle Obnie	Marshall	James	his son		2
42	Meikle Obnie	Marshall	Janet	his daughter		2
43	Meikle Obnie	Marshall	William		1	1
44	Meikle Obnie	Young	Janet	his wife		1
45	Meikle Obnie	MacFarlane	Thomas		1	2
46	Meikle Obnie	Paton	Giles	his wife		2
47	Meikle Obnie	MacFarlane	John	his son		2
48	Meikle Obnie	MacFarlane	Alexr	his son		2
49	Meikle Obnie	MacFarlane	James	his son		2
50	Meikle Obnie	MacFarlane	Peter	his son		2
51	Meikle Obnie	MacFarlane	Thomas	his son		2
52	Meikle Obnie	MacFarlane	Grizzel	his daughter		2
53	Meikle Obnie	MacFarlane	Margaret	his daughter		2
54	Meikle Obnie	MacFarlane	Janet	his daughter		2
55	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Andrew	late James' son	1	2
56	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Peter	late James' son		2
57	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Mary	his daughter		2

APPENDIX TWO

Obnies etc. tenants & others 1791

	location	surname	firstname	notes	families	tenant
58	Meikle Obnie	Fullerton	William			1
59	Meikle Obnie	Dow	William		1	2
60	Meikle Obnie	McLiesh	Janet	his wife		2
61	Meikle Obnie	Dow	William	his son		2
62	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Janet	his daughter		2
63	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Dorothy	his daughter		2
64	Meikle Obnie	Gow	Janet		1	1
65	Meikle Obnie	McKenzie	Elizabeth		1	1
66	Meikle Obnie	McKenzie	Christian		1	1
67	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Jean	widow	1	2
68	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Thomas	her son		2
69	Meikle Obnie	Dow	William	her son		2
70	Meikle Obnie	Dow	James	her son		2
71	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Alexr	her son		2
72	Meikle Obnie	Ann	Burt		1	1
73	Meikle Obnie	Finnick	Grizzel			1
74	Meikle Obnie	Finnick	James			1
75	Meikle Obnie	Gow	William		1	2
76	Meikle Obnie	Paton	Janet	his wife		2
77	Meikle Obnie	Gow	James	his son		2
78	Meikle Obnie	Gow	Alexr	his son		2
79	Meikle Obnie	Gow	John	his son		2
80	Meikle Obnie	Gow	Janet	his daughter		2
81	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Thomas		1	2
82	Meikle Obnie	Stewart	Elspe	his wife		2
83	Meikle Obnie	Dow	John	his son		2
84	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Isabel	his daughter		2
85	Meikle Obnie	Dow	John		1	2
86	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Isabel	his daughter		2
87	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Peter	son to John	1	1
88	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Jean	his wife		1
89	Meikle Obnie	Dow	Thomas	his son		1
90	Over Obnie	Young	John		1	2
91	Over Obnie	Dow	Janet	his wife		2
92	Over Obnie	Young	John	his son		2
93	Over Obnie	Young	James	his son		2
94	Over Obnie	Young	William	his son		2
95	Over Obnie	Young	Janet	his daughter		2
96	Over Obnie	Young	Margaret	his daughter		2
97	Over Obnie	Young	Jean	his daughter		2
98	Over Obnie	Paton	James		1	2
99	Over Obnie	Heres	Janet	his wife		2
100	Over Obnie	Paton	James	his son		2
101	Over Obnie	Paton	John	his son		2
102	Over Obnie	Paton	Peter	his son		2
103	Over Obnie	Paton	Janet	his daughter		2
104	Over Obnie	Young	John		1	2
105	Over Obnie	McKendrick	Margaret	his wife		2
106	Over Obnie	Young	John		1	1
107	Over Obnie	Pearson	Janet	his wife		1
108	Over Obnie	Dow	William		1	2
109	Over Obnie	Robertson	Agnes	his wife		2
110	Over Obnie	Dow	Walter			2
111	Over Obnie	Dow	Andrew	his son		2
112	Over Obnie	Dow	John	his son		2
113	Over Obnie	Dow	James	his son		2
114	Over Obnie	Dow	Emily	his daughter		2

APPENDIX TWO

Obnies etc. tenants & others 1791

	location	surname	firstname	notes	families	tenant
115	Over Obnie	Dow	Agnes	his daughter		2
116	Over Obnie	Finnick	Peter		1	2
117	Over Obnie	Brown	Margaret	his wife		2
118	Over Obnie	Finnick	Andrew			2
119	Over Obnie	McLaren	Margaret	his wife		2
120	Nether Obnie	Dow	Andrew		1	2
121	Nether Obnie	Paton	Isabel	his wife		2
122	Nether Obnie	Dow	William	his son		2
123	Nether Obnie	Dow	Peter	his son		2
124	Nether Obnie	Dow	Jean	his daughter		2
125	Nether Obnie	Dow	Janet	his daughter		2
126	Nether Obnie	Constable	William		1	2
127	Nether Obnie	Crichton	Isabel	his wife		2
128	Nether Obnie	Constable	John	his son		2
129	Nether Obnie	Constable	William	his son		2
130	Nether Obnie	Constable	David	his son		2
131	Nether Obnie	Constable	Isaac	his son		2
132	Nether Obnie	Constable	George	his son		2
133	Nether Obnie	Constable	Robert	his son		2
134	Nether Obnie	Constable	Agnes	his daughter		2
135	Nether Obnie	Constable	Rachell	his daughter		2
136	Nether Obnie	Constable	Elizabeth	his daughter		2
137	Nether Obnie	Crichton	John	Wm's sub ten't	1	1
138	Nether Obnie	Donaldson	David		1	2
139	Nether Obnie	Donaldson	Giles	his wife		2
140	Nether Obnie	Donaldson	George	his son		2
141	Nether Obnie	Sprunt	David		1	2
142	Nether Obnie	Jack	Helen	his wife		2
143	Nether Obnie	Stewart	Alexr	Seceders	1	1
144	Nether Obnie	Malloch	Janet	his wife		1
145	Nether Obnie	Foot	William		1	1
146	Nether Obnie	Campbell	John		1	1
147	Nether Obnie	Finnick	Sarah	his wife		1
148	Nether Obnie	Stewart	David	Seceder family	1	2
149	Nether Obnie	McEwan	Janet			2
150	Nether Obnie	Stewart	John	his son		2
151	Nether Obnie	Stewart	Catharine	his daughter		2
152	Muiredstown	Paton	David		1	2
153	Muiredstown	Millar	Janet	his wife		2
154	Muiredstown	Paton	Catherine	his daughter		2
155	Muiredstown	Paton	Janet	his daughter		2
156	Muiredstown	Paton	Margaret	his daughter		2
157	Muiredstown	Paton	James	his brothers son		2
158	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	James		1	2
159	Muiredstown	Heres	Janet	his wife		2
160	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Peter	his son		2
161	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	John	his son		2
162	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	James	his son		2
163	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Catherine	his daughter		2
164	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Margaret	his daughter		2
165	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Cecilia	his daughter		2
166	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Alexr		1	2
167	Muiredstown	Dow	Christian	his wife		2
168	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Catherine	his sister		2
169	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Peter	his son		2
170	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	William	his son		2
171	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Catherine	his daughter		2

APPENDIX TWO

Obnies etc. tenants & others 1791

	location	surname	firstname	notes	families	tenant
172	Muiredstown	Paton	Catherine	widow	1	2
173	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	John	her son		2
174	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	James	her son		2
175	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Peter	her son		2
176	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Alexr	her son		2
177	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Grizzel	her daughter		2
178	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Janet	her daughter		2
179	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Isabel	her daughter		2
180	Muiredstown	MacFarlane	Catharine	her daughter		2
181	Muirland	Burns	John		1	2
182	Muirland	Dow	Isabel	his wife		2
183	Muirland	Burns	Isabel	his daughter		2
184	Muirland	Burns	James	his son		2

APPENDIX III

EARL OF ARGYLL'S HORNING OF 1675

This study has shown that the earl of Argyll's Horning of 1675, primarily against the Macleans (DI.23/1/vol 2), lists 522 persons who were likely to be former proprietors or tenants to some degree, and that this number is far too low to be considered a comprehensive listing of inhabitants. Nevertheless, any listing which names individuals is welcomed for a part of the country and period for which very little evidence of local population information survives.

Those afforded number 1 under the column x-cap (for ex-caption) appear in the original horning and in the subsequent caption for this action, those numbered 2 are missing from the caption, those numbered 3 or 4 are placed differently by the caption. The caption in question was published in 1914 by J. R. MacPhail (ed), *Highland Papers*, 4 vols (S.H.S. 1914-34) I.

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Homing 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
1	Dewart	McLean		Sir Allan	of Dewart	2
2	Ardmeneis	McQueen		Mr John	in	2
3	Ardmeneis	McIlmichell	v'Irloch	Duncan	yr	2
4	Ardmeneis	McLean		Archd	yr	2
5	Ardmeneis	McDonald		Donald	yr	2
6	Ardmeneis	McIlchenich		Dowshie	yr	2
7	Ardmeneis	McIlloch		Donald rloch		2
8	Jura	McDonald		Neill	in	2
9	Jura	Mishog		John	yr	2
10	Jura	McIlchenich		Donald	yr	2
11	Jura	McIlcheanich		Dowshie	ther	2
12	Jura	Campbell		Margaret		2
13	Jura	McDonald		Neill	yr	2
14	Molbowie, Scarba	McDonald		Neill	in	2
15	Molbowie, Scarba	McIlcheanich		Donald	and	2
16	Molbowie, Scarba	McIlcheanich		John	ther	2
17	Milbowie	Campbell		Lauchlane		2
18	Milbowie	McIlchenich		Gilbert	yr	2
19	Milbowie	McDowgall		Duncan	yr	2
20	Coill	McLean		Allan	of Coill, ther	2
21	Keyles - TIRIE	McLean		John	of Keyles ther	1
22	Rowag "	McLean		Lauchlane	tacksmn of	1
23	Kenlochaline	McLean		John	of Kenlochaline	1
24	Bow - TIRIE	McLean		Donald	tacksmn of	1
25	Sallum "	McCharles		John	tacksmn of	1
26	Sallum "	McDonald		John	yr	1
27	Sallum "	McEan		Findley	yr	1
28	Sallum "	McFingon		Archd	yr	1
29	Sallum "	McFingon		Neill	yr	1
30	Sallum "	McGilchrist		Archd	yr	1
31	Kirkpoyle "	McIlchalum		Ewine	in	1
32	Baliphelis "	McLean		Hew	in, Balizie of Terie (Tirie)	1
33	Kinway (Tirie?)	Gow		Colin	in Kinway yr	1
34	Kinway (Tirie?)	McDonald	og v'Lean	Jon		1
35	Kinway (Tirie?)	McLean		Allan	yr	1
36	Kinway (Tirie?)	McDonald	og	Neill	yr	1

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
37	Kinvar (Trie?)	McChalum		Findlay	yr	1
38	Carnbeg — TIRRE	McDonald	v'Lauchlane	Archd	tacksmn of	1
39	Carnmore "	McLean		John	tacksmn of	1
40	Bassaboyll "	McGilchreist		John	in	1
41	Bassaboyll "	McIntyre		Colin	yr	1
42	Ballincragonick	McIntyre		Neill	tacksmn of	1
43	Breist — TIRRE	McClerich		Duncan	in	1
44	Breist "	McIrligin		John	yr	1
45	Ballwilling "	McLean		Donald	in	1
46	Ballwilling "	McLean		John	yr	1
47	Ballwilling "	McSorle		Findlay	yr	1
48	Ballwilling "	McSorle		John	yr	1
49	Ballwilling "	McIlneive		Donald	yr	1
50	Ballwilling "	McLean		Glissallan	yr	1
51	Ballwilling "	McKinlay		Malcolme	yr	1
52	Ballwilling "	McDonich	v'Ean abrich	Ewin	yr	1
53	Torloisk	McLean		Hector	of Torloisk	1
54	Torloisk	McLean		Feoris	yr	1
55	Murdils	McLean		Hector	in	1
56	Murdils	McLean		Lauchlane	yr	1
57	Crosskirk	McLean		Marg't	in	2
58	Crosskirk	McLean		Rorie	yr. caption: in Murdils	4
59	Kilchanich — TIRRE	McIlchallum		Duncan	tacksmn of	1
60	Crinall "	McLean		John	in	1
61	Sandlaig "	McIlphadrick	v'Ean	John	in	1
62	Sandlaig "	McAllan		John	yr	1
63	Sandlaig "	McAllan		John	yr	1
64	Ballemenoch "	McKerras		Alexr	in	1
65	Kinvar "	McLean		John	in	1
66	Kinvar "	McNeill	v'Ean duy	John	yr	1
67	Kinvar "	McLean		Neill	yr	1
68	Kinvar "	McNeill		Hector	ther	1
69	Ballifully "	McNeill		Hector	in	1
70	Ballifully "	McEnich		Martain	yr	1
71	Hyrem "	McDonald	ban	Colin	in	1
72	Hyrem "	McNeill		Neill	yr	1

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
73	Chamish - TIR E E	McNeill	ban	Charles	in	1
74	Manuall	McLean		Donald	in	1
75	Ballmartine	McLean		John Dourish	in	1
76	Sorrobie	McLean		Hector	in	1
77	Goish	McEan	v'Ean	Ewin	in	1
78	Ballinoa	McDow	McRorie	Donald	in	1
79	Ballinoa	McRory		John	yr	1
80	Ballinoa	McIchalum		Keneth	yr	1
81	Millipoyll	McKinon		Jon	in	1
82	Wyll	McLeorie		Donald	in	1
83	Wyll	McDonald	v'Neill	Neill	yr	1
84	Wyll	Red		John	yr	1
85	Sheba	McEachen	v'Ean alias M'Lean	John	in	1
86	Sheba	McLean		Donald Gorm	yr	1
87	Sheba	McIvorich		Angus	yr	1
88	Sheba	McErrocher		Angus oir	yr	1
89	Sheba	McErrocher		Paul M'Ean	yr	1
90	Sheba	McNeill	v'Neill McMartain	Donald oir	yr	1
91	Scurr	McIvray		Ewine	in	1
92	Scurr	McIvray		Duncan	yr	1
93	Scurr	McNokaird		Duncan	yr	1
94	Kilviceun	McAllan	v'Lauchlane	Allan	in	1
95	Kilviceun	McConachie	Garve	Donald	yr	1
96	Kilviceun	McEan	v'Ivray	Donald	yr	1
97	Kilviceun	McLean	v'Donald	Donald roy	yr	1
98	Kilviceun	McDonald	v'Illphadrick	John	yr	1
99	Kilviceun	McNokaird		John dow	yr	1
100	Kilviceun	McNokaird		Malcolme	yr	1
101	Kilviceun	McRorie	v'Allan	Rorie	yr	1
102	Kilviceun	McArthur		Neill dow	yr	1
103	Starfin	McIvray		Donald grave	in	1
104	Starfin	McIvray		Archd	yr	1
105	Larnich	McLean		Alexr	in, yr	1
106	Larnich	McOnochie		Archd grave	yr	1
107	Larnich	McLean		Charles	yr	1
108	Larnich	McDonald	McIvray	Martain	yr	1

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
109	Larnich	McOnochie	McIlvray	Martain	yr	1
110	Uskin	McDonald	Glass	Allan	in	1
111	Uskin	Dow	M'Ean	Lauchlane	ther	1
112		McRorie		Lauchlane		1
113	Archevadage	McIlchalum	McIlvray	Martain	in	1
114	Archevadage	McLean		Ewine oig	yr	1
115	Archevadage	McInlay		Donald	yr	1
116	Archevadage	McRorie		Neill rioch	yr	1
117	Archevadage	McIneish		Gilbert	yr	2
118	Ardocharr	McLean		Ferqt	in	1
119	Knockinfingage	McDonald	gorm v'Lauchlane	John	in	1
120	Penimore	Donald		Alexr	and	1
121	Penimore	McLean		John	in	1
122	Penimore	McDonald	v'Lean	Charles	yr	1
123	Archelaniish	McCharles	v'Lean	Donald	in	1
124	Archelaniish	McArthur		Ferqr	and	1
125	Archelaniish	McArthur		John	yr	1
126	Archelaniish	McNeill	v'Findley	Findlay	yr	1
127	Archelaniish	McMillan		Findlay	yr	1
128	Tirergan	McInish	v'lphadrick	John	in	1
129	Tirergan	McDonald	v'Ewne	Hector	yr	1
130	Tirergan	McNeill	roy	Neill	yr	1
131	Tirergan	Smith		Finlay	yr	1
132	Tirergan	McArthur		Donald	yr	1
133	Tirergan	McArthur		Gilbert	yr	1
134	Tirergan	McCharles	McEwan	Donald	yr	1
135	Tirergan	McLean		Donald	and	1
136	Tirergan	McLean		John	yr	1
137	Knockulligan	McIlvoill		Donald	in	1
138	Knockatuy	McLean		Moir	in	2
139	Knockatuy	McLean		Donald		1
140	Knockatuy	McLean		Hector	and	1
141	Knockatuy	McLean		John	yr	1
142	Isle of Errat	McCharles	v'Lean	Malcolme	in	1
143	Isle of Errat	Smith		John oig	yr	1
144	Isle of Errat	McEan	v'Ewne	Ewne	yr	1

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
145	Isle of Errat	Mclivorie		John	yr	1
146	Naffettan	McEan	Glass	Patrick	in	1
147	Naffettan	McEan	v'Neill	John	yr	1
148	Sollarchurr	McMartein		Donald	in	1
149	Sollarchurr	McFinlay		Donald roy	yr	1
150	Sollarchurr	McLean		Hector	yr	1
151	Sollarchurr	Mclivray		Neill	yr	1
152	Catto	McFarland		Cathrine	in Catto ther	1
153	Creich	McDonald	v'Neill	John		1
154	Icolmkill	McLauchlane		Donald	in	1
155	Icolmkill	McDonachie	v'Tavish	Donald	yr	1
156	Icolmkill	McAdam		Charles	yr	1
157	Icolmkill	Fledger		Angus	yr	1
158	Icolmkill	McOnachie	v'Avish	Thomas	yr	1
159	Icolmkill	McCharles	v'Adam	Malcolme	yr	1
160	Icolmkill	McEwne		Archd	yr	1
161	Icolmkill	McCharles	Dow	Donald	yr	1
162	Icolmkill	McCharles	dow	John	yr	1
163	Icolmkill	McDonald	Gregan	Patrick	yr	2
164	Icolmkill	McDonald		John	yr	1
165	Icolmkill	McDonald	v'Ean	John	yr	1
166	Icolmkill	McLean		Charles	yr	1
167	Icolmkill	McIntyre		Archd	yr	1
168	Icolmkill	McNeill	v'Neill	John	ther	1
169	Icolmkill	McDonald	v, Errocher	Archd roy	yr	1
170	Icolmkill	McLean		Donald	yr	1
171	Icolmkill	McLean		Donald Dow	yr	1
172	Icolmkill	Brulechan		Malcolme	yr	2
173	Icolmkill	McEan ur		John	yr	1
174	Icolmkill	McEan ur	v'Findlay	Neill	yr	1
175	Icolmkill	McDonald		Dowgall	and	1
176	Icolmkill	McDonald		Donald	yr	1
177	Icolmkill	McFinlay	more	Malcolme	yr	1
178	Icolmkill	McEan	v'Donald Bean	Donald	yr	1
179	Icolmkill	McEwne	alias Fledger	John	yr	1
180	Potusorall	McAllan	v'Lauchlane	Lauchlane	in	1

APPENDIX THREE

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
181	Potusorall	McIchalum	v'lphadrick		yr	1
182	Potusorall	McEwne	Gow	Duncan	yr	1
183	Potusorall	McRorie	Gow	Finlay	yr	1
184	Potusorall	McDonald	Gow	Donald	yr	1
185	Ardunage	McWilliam		Patrick	in	1
186	Ardunage	McEan ur		Rorie	yr	1
187	Ardunage	McFarland		Neill	yr	1
188	Ardunage	McNeill		Neill	yr	1
189	Ardunage	McGarvie		John	yr	1
190	Ardunage	McLespie		Donald	yr	1
191	Ardunage	McEan		John	yr	1
192	Suy	McErrochar		Charles	in	1
193	Suy	McEan		Angus	yr	1
194	Suy	McRorie		Malcolme	yr	1
195	Suy	McRorie		Duncan	yr	1
196	Theirgl	McIdonoch		John	in	1
197	Dunanesland	Biltoun		Donald	in	1
198	Dunanesland	McDonachie		Neill	yr	1
199	Dunanesland	McNeill		Duncan	yr	1
200	Dunanesland	McIcneive		John	yr	1
201	Assaboll	McLean	grave alias McLean	Hector	in	1
202	Assaboll	McArthur		Donald	yr	1
203	Assaboll	McDonald		Jon	yr	1
204	Assaboll	McLean		Hew	and	1
205	Assaboll	McLean		Hector	yr	1
206	Assaboll	McDonald		Allan	yr	1
207	Corngait	McEachan		John	in	1
208	Corngait	McFindlay		John dow	yr	1
209	Corngait	McLean		Allan	yr	1
210	Ardtorones nether	McLean		Donald	in	1
211	Ardtorones nether	McNiroy		John dow	yr	1
212	Ardtorones nether	McEachen		Ewn	yr	1
213	Ardtorones over	McLean		John	Laird of McLeans Uncle	1
214	Ardtorones over	McEachen	oig	John dow	yr	1
215	Ardtorones over	McRory	v'Donald bean	John	yr	1
216	Ardtorones over	McDonald	v'Errochar	Neill	yr	1

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
217	Ardtorones over	McLugas		Donald roy	yr	1
218	Ardtorones over	McDonald		John bean	yr	1
219	Ardtorones over	McNeill	buy	Donald	yr	1
220	Ardtorones over	McEachen	oig McLean	Donald	yr	1
221	Ardtorones over	McLean		Findlay dow	yr	1
222	Bea	McLean		Hew	in	1
223	Bea	Fraser		Mr James	ther	2
224	Gilpatrick	McNeill	dow v'Dowgall	Donald	in	1
225	Gilpatrick	McIlchalum		Dowgall	ther	1
226	Beach	McIllespie	v'Allister	Allister	in	1
227	Beach	McLauchlane	dow	John	yr	1
228	Beach	Donald	v'Donald	Lauchlan ure	yr	1
229	Beach	McLauchlane	ur	Allan	ther	1
230	Beach	McAllan	v'Lauchlane	Donald	and	1
231	Beach	McAllan	v'Lauchlane	Allan	yr	1
232	Beach	McNeill	v'Donall	Ferqr	yr	1
233	Torrwachtie	McIlchalum	v'Ilvray	Donald	in	1
234	Torrwachtie	McIlvorie		Malcolme	yr	1
235	Torrwachtie	McEwne	dow	Charles	ther	1
236	Torminach	McDuffie		John ur	in	1
237	Torminach	McIlchalum		Donald	ther	1
238	Torminach	McIlendreish		Neill	yr	1
239	Torrinterroch	McNeill		Ferqr	in	1
240	Torrinterroch	McIlvray		Malcolme	yr	1
241	Torrinterroch	McPhaine		Jon moir	yr	1
242	Brolos	McLean		Lauchlane	of Brolos	1
243	Kilnack	McCharles	v'Ean duy	Lauchlane	in	1
244	Kilnack	McKinlay		Allan	yr	1
245	Penicross	Bitton		Donald	in	1
246	Penicross	McLean		Hector	yr	1
247	Penicross	McIlvray		Martain	yr (Hector in Caption?)	2
248	Penicross	McIlchalum		Dowgall	yr (Donald in Caption?)	2
249	Penicross	McLean		Allan	Lochbuy's brother	2
250	Penigayell	McIlvray		Donald gorm	in	1
251	Penigayell	McLauchlane	v'Tavash	Thomas	yr	2
252	Penigayell	McIlvoill		Neill	yr	1

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
253	Carraig	McLean		Allan	in	1
254	Carraig	McIlvray		Donald	and	1
255	Carraig	McIlvray		John	yr	1
256	Liddell	McIlvray		Malcolme	in	1
257	Liddell	McIlvray		John dow	ther	1
258	Brollas	McLean		Lauchlane	of Brollas (repeat?)	2
259	Kenlochstridan	McLean		Hector	of Kenlochstridan	2
260	Kenlochstridan	McIntyre		John	and	1
261	Kenlochstridan	McIntyre		Donald	yr	1
262	Ulval	McEachen	v'Allaster	Hector	in	1
263	Ulval	McLean		Charles	yr	1
264	Ulval	McImartein	v'Donald more	John	ther	2
265	Ardvargnish	McDonald	Gow	John	in	1
266	Ardvargnish	McDonald	Gow	Finlay	yr	1
267	Ardvargnish	McDonald	more	Ewne	ther	1
268	Killiemore	McLean		Lauchlane	in	1
269	Killiemore	McLean	v'Neill	John oig	yr	1
270	Dalrerich	McLean		Lauchlane	in	1
271	Dalrerich	McDonachie	v'Neill bean	Jon dow	yr	1
272	Dalrerich	McDonachie	v'Neill bean	Neill	yr	1
273	Killmachir	McArthur		Duncan	in	1
274	Killmachir	McLean		Lauchlane	yr	1
275	Killmachir	McNeill		Angus dow	yr	1
276	Killmachir	McEwne		Angus	yr	1
277	Killmachir	McLugas	bean v'Phersone	Jon	yr	1
278	Killmachir	McLugas		Archd	yr	1
279	Killmachir	Fraser		Mr James	yr (repeat?)	2
280	Ballenrenoch	McMartein		Lauchlane	in	1
281	Ballenrenoch	McEachen	alias McLean	Donald	yr	1
282	Ballinmachein	McEan	v'Neill	Donald	in	1
283	Ballinmachein	McMartein		Lauchlane	yr	1
284	Ballinmachein	McEan	v'Ean	Neill	yr	1
285	Kilimur	McLean		Duncan dow	in	1
286	Ballenachard	McEan	v'Gilesple	Archd	in	1
287	Ballenachard	McLean		Archd	yr	1
288	Burst	McLean		Hector	in	1

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
289	Burst	McEan	v'Enne	Donald	yr	1
290	Burst	McEan		Ferqr bean	yr	1
291	Burst	McEan		Donald bean	yr	1
292	Scarasdail	McEan		John	in Scarasdail yr	1
293	Scarasdail	McIlvray		Martin	yr	2
294	Torloisk	McLean		Hector	of Torloisk	1
295	Darriehowag	McFinlay		Finlay	in	1
296	Darriehowag	McLean		Malcolme	yr	1
297	Darriehowag	McLean		John	yr	1
298	Darriehowag	McFinlay		Malcolme		1
299	Bissag	McIlvray		Neill	in	1
300	Bissag	McDonald		Ewne	yr	1
301	Knock	McIlvray		John dow	in	1
302	Knock	McFinlay		John	yr	1
303	Knock	McIlvray		Ewne	yr	1
304	Knock	McIlvray		Lauchlane	yr	1
305	Knock	McFinlay		John	yr	2
306	Knock	McEwne	bain	John	yr	1
307	Clashaig	McAlister		Donald bain	in	1
308	Clashaig	McAndrie		John	ther	1
309	Clashaig	McGilchreist		John	yr	1
310	Torloisk	McLean		Lauchlane	fiar of Torloisk	1
311	Glencanner	McNeill	dow	Patrick	in	1
312	Glencanner	McIlvray		Neill	yr	1
313	Gortinbowie	McLean		Lauchlane	in	1
314	Gortinbowie	McNeill		Neill garve	yr	1
315	Gortinbowie	McEan	v'Ean duy dow v'Neill	Malcolme	yr	1
316	Gortinbowie	McNeill		Angus glass	yr	1
317	Gortinbowie	McNeill	v'Ean dow	Jon	yr	1
318	Gortinbowie	McIntaylor		Neill	and	1
319	Gortinbowie	Mcintaylor			his son's ther	2
320	Gortinbowie	Mcintaylor		Duncan	in	1
321	Collichiles	Lamont		Ewne	yr	1
322	Collichiles	McInish		Malcome	yr	1
323	Collichiles	McIndonich		Neill	yr	1
324	Collichiles	McIlchalum	v'Idonich		yr	1

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
325	Collichies	McFinlay		Duncan	yr	1
326	Collichies	McDonald	v'Ean	Donald	yr	1
327	Achnacraig	McNeill		Hugh	in	1
328	Achnacraig	McLean	v'Neill	Duncan roy	yr	1
329	Achnacraig	McLain		Ewin	tacksman therof	3
330	Achnacraig	McLean		Lauchlan	there	3
331	Achnacraig	McDowie		Neil	there	3
332	Achnacraig	McEan	v'Allister	Neill	yr	1
333	Achnacraig	McLean		Allan	yr (3 more in caption)	1
334	Archadabeg	McPhaden		Malcolme	in	1
335	Archadabeg	McDonald	v'Ean	John	yr	1
336	Archadabeg	McUlrich		Donald	yr	1
337	Archadabeg	McPhaden		Donald	yr	1
338	Glennan	McDonald		Neill	in	1
339	Glennan	McDonald		Donald	and	1
340	Glennan	McDonald		Malcolm	and	1
341	Glennan	McDonald		Findlay	yr	1
342	Glennan	McLean		Donald moir	yr	1
343	Glennan	McCharles	v'Lean	Hew	yr	1
344	Glennan	McRoy		Donald	yr	2
345	Glennan	McNeill	v'Donald	Gilcalum	yr	1
346	Sheltoun	McPhaden		Angus	in	1
347	Ardnadrocheid	McDonachie	oig	John	in	1
348	Ardnadrocheid	McLean	v'Finlay	Donald	yr	1
349	Ardnadrocheid	McDonachie	rioch	Ewne	yr	1
350	Tarnaskiach	McEan	v'Donachie	Donald	in	1
351	Tarnaskiach	McEan	alrich	Allan	yr	1
352	Tarnaskiach	McEan	Leich	Duslen	yr	1
353	Tarnaskiach	McNeill	v'Ean	Hector	ther	1
354	Archoill in Dowart	McWilliam		John	in	1
355	Archoill in Dowart	Askine		Patrick	yr	2
356	Archoill in Dowart	McIntyre		John	yr	2
357	Archoill in Dowart	McNeill	gow	Neill	yr	1
358	Archoill in Dowart	McIlmicheil	alias McInlennish	Ewne ban	yr	1
359	Barniscribe	McEan	v'William	Donald og	in	1
360	Barniscribe	McPhanie		Donald ban	yr	1

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
361	Barniscrive	McNab		Donald og	yr	1
362	Torgormag	McLean		Donald glas	tacksmn of	1
363	Torgormag	McLean		Archd	yr	1
364	Torgormag	McNeill		John	and	1
365	Torgormag	McNeill		Hew	yr	1
366	Achnacross	McLean		Hector	of Achnacross	2
367	Achnacross	McAllan	more McLean	Archd	yr. caption: in Torgoramg	4
368	Achnacross	McDonachie	more	Ewne	yr. caption: in Torgoramg	4
369	Achnacross	McDonachie		Finlay	yr. caption: in Torgoramg	4
370	Ardochell	McCharles	McLean	Ewn	in	1
371	Ardjura	McImichell		Ewne	in	1
372	Carnag	McLean		Ewn	in	1
373	Carnag	McRoy		John	yr	1
374	Tornadiu	McLean		Donald	tacksmn of	1
375	Tornadiu	McEan	v'Giespie	Archd	yr	1
376	Ballenachard	McEan	v'dun	Archd	in	1
377	Inschrenie	McLean		Lauchlane	in	1
378	Inschrenie	Garve		Donald	yr	2
379	Teirfen	McIlvray		Archd	and	1
380	Teirfen	McIlvray		Donald	in	1
381	Teirfen	McDonald		Martain	yr	1
382	Teirfen	McDonachie	v'Ilvray	Martain	ther	1
383	Dalqu'r	McMartain	v'Lean	Donald	in	1
384	Dalqu'r	McDonald	bain	Donald roy	yr	1
385	Fittichen	McEan	glass	Patrick	in	1
386	Creach	McEan	v'Neill	Jon	in	1
387	Ardeach	McEan	bain	Ferqr	in	1
388	Ardeach	McIlneive		John	yr	1
389	Portwiskine	McLean	v'Donald glass	Allan	in	1
390	Portwiskine	McEan	v'Donell	Lauchlan dowy	yr	1
391	Kenlochaline	McHector	v'Lean	John	of, tacksm of Killisikle	1
392	Kellive	McLean		Lauchlane	in	1
393	Kellive	McIlvray		Malcolme	yr	1
394	Kellimore	McEwn	v'Allan v'Lean	John	in	1
395	Torloisk	McLean	'of Aucharanich in caption.	Hector	of, tacksm of Clachug	1
396	Aucharanich	McLean	'of Aucharanich in caption.	Hector	in, tacksm of Kilmalkuag	1

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
397	Oscamule &c.	McGowrie		Hector	in	1
398	Ulva & Laganulva	McGowrie		Lauchlane	tacksmn of	1
399	Ulva & Laganulva	McGowrie		John	yr	1
400	Corcomer	McLean		Hector	of Torloisk, yr	2
401	Finnore	McIlmicheill		Hew	in	1
402	Claguran	McLean		Charles	in	1
403	Klimalug &c.	McLean		Hector	of Meslennie	2
404	Auchoust	McLean		Lauchlane	of Auchoust	1
405	Breuer	McEan	v'Donald	Rorie	in	1
406	Breuer	McIlpich		Jon	yr	1
407	Breuer	McInner		John dow	yr	1
408	Breuer	McNeill		Finlay	yr	1
409	Breuer	McConachie	v'Ean v'Finlay	John	yr	1
410	Breuer	McAllespick	v'Ean v'Conachie alias M'Arthur John van	Donald	yr	1
411	Breuer	McAlpench		Charles	yr	1
412	Slumaboll	McObnach		Donald	in	1
413	Slumaboll	McEan	duy	Archd	yr	1
414	Slumaboll	McNeill	v'lchalum	Ewn	yr	1
415	Calligorie	McLean		Lauchlane	tacksmn of	1
416	Maynes in Penimore	Friggadill	M'lldonich	Callich	with	1
417	Ducheran	McLean		Neill	in	1
418	Airvallichill	McLean		Donald	tacksmn of	2
419	Drumsyne &c.	McCallum	v'Lean	Charles	tacksmn of	2
420	Killmintalling	McNeill		Archd		2
421	Killmintalling	McNeill		Angus	and	2
422	Killmintalling	McNeill		Malcom		2
423	Killmintalling	McNeill		Patrick	in	2
424	Brollas	McLean		Lauchlane	of Brollas (repeat?)	2
425	Baltimore	McNeill	v'Lean	Malcolme	in	1
426	Klinalen	McDonald	v'lchalum	John	in	2
427	Klinalen	McInvinor		Donald	yr	2
428	Blarchanan	McCharles	v'Allan v'Lean	Donald	in	2
429	Ledmore	McEan	v'Lean	Archd	in	2
430	Ledmore	McShrire		Ferqr	yr. caption: Deryvill	4
431	Deryvill	McLean		John	in	1
432	Tangie	McAllan	v'Lean	Hector	in	1

APPENDIX THREE

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
433	Airivulchin	McAllan	v'Lean	Donald	in	1
434	Kalish &c.	McHerlish	v'Lean	Lauchlane	tacksmn of	2
435	Auchacharne etc.	McLean	younger of Torloisk	Lauchlane	tacksmn of	1
436	Arros	McNeill	v'Ean	Malcolme	in	1
437	Blarcharnen	McVurartich		Lauchlane	in	1
438	Letirmoir	McLean		Mr Angus	in	1
439	Letirmoir	McNeill	v'Rorie	John	yr	1
440	Dowchartie	McEan	v'Lean	Neill	in	1
441	Airivulchine	McLean		Mildoning	and	2
442	Airivulchine	McColliches		Angus	in	2
443	Liddesdail	McDonald	Cameron	John	in	1
444	Liddesdail	McIlleireish		Ewn	and	1
445	Liddesdail	McIlleireish		Duncan	yr	1
446	Liddesdail	McKinlay		Donald	ther	1
447	Archagavell	Cameron		Donald	in	1
448	Lowdill	McEwn	v'Lean	John	in	1
449	Lowdill	McLean		John roy	ther	1
450	Ramisalich	McLauchlane		Dowgall	in	1
451	Glencubastill	McLauchlane		Dowgall	in	1
452	Archalastell	McEwne	v'Lean	Ewn	in	1
453	Mungistill	McEwne	v'Lean	Allan	in	1
454	Mungistill	McEwnw	v'Lean	John	yr	2
455	Amoir	McConachie	v'Illephadrick	Jon	in	1
456	Artinortoranish	McLean		Donald	in	1
457	Achacharne	McLean		Mr Hector	in	2
458	Salvarie	McEan	McLean	Lauchlane	in	1
459	Ardgowre in Finarie	McLean		John	of	1
460	Sallachine	McLauchlane		John		1
461	Sallachine	McEwn	v'Lean	Ewn	yr	1
462	Sallachine	McLeod		Paull	yr	1
463	Sallachine	Clerk		Malcolme	yr	1
464	Laggan	McIlmichell	wier	Finlay	in	1
465	Laggan	McEwn	roy v'Lean	Lauchlane	yr	1
466	Laggan	McEwne	v'Allister v'Lauchlanes	Neill	yr	1
467	Carmaralich	McEwn	v'Lean	Ewne	in	2
468	Ferrenish	McDachuruss		John	and	1

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
469	Ferrenish	McDachuruss		Sorle	in	1
470	Ferrenish	McEwne	v'Allan v'Lean	John	yr	1
471	Ferrenish	McImartein		Archd	yr	1
472	Killintin	McEan	v'Ewn v'Lean	Allan	in	1
473	Drumcragag	McEwne		Hector	in	1
474	Drumcragag	McDonald	v'Ean	Neill	yr	1
475	Drumcragag	McHector	v'Illespie	Donald	yr	1
476	Beich	McDonald	Cameron	Jon	in	1
477	Beich	Cameron		Angus roy	yr	1
478	Beich	Cameron		Ewn	yr	1
479	Landill	Morvine	McLean	Angus	in	2
480	Landill	McEwn	duy Cameron	Angus	yr. caption: in Beich	4
481	Camissalich	McEan	duy v'Lean	John	in	1
482	Camissalich	McEwne	v'William	Donald	yr	1
483	Glencrubastill	McCharles	v'Lean	Allan	in	1
484	Ranhow & Rochoy	McLean	v'Ewne	Lauchlan oig	in	1
485	Kenlochtechrast	McLean	v'Lean	Lauchlan oig	in	2
486	Kenlochtechrast	McLean		Charles	yr	1
487	Auchnatibert	McLaine	McEwne	Lauchlane	in	1
488	Barr	McEwne	v'Lean	Allan	in	1
489	Ceill	McEwne	v'Lean	Allan	in	2
490	Auchabaltriach	McEwne	v'Lean	Lauchlan oig	in	2
491	Portwell	McLean		Angus roy	in	1
492	Auchalastich	McOnleas		Jon	and	1
493	Auchalastich	McOnleas		Duncan	in	1
494	Amoir	McEwne	glas	Duncan	in	1
495	Amoir	McLean	glas	Angus	ther	1
496	Ardleranish	Cameron	tutor of Daltort	Allan	in	1
497	Achacharie	McConachie		John	in	1
498	Killibeg	McLean		Donald	in	1
499	Cornacalich	McEan	v'Illephadrick	Neill	in	1
500	Killintenie	McEwne	v'Lean	Ewne	in	1
501	Killintenie	McLean		Alexr	yr	1
502	Tharmill	Cameron		John	in	1
503	Tharmill	McIntyre		John	yr	1
504	Tharmill	Cameron		Donald	yr	1

Argyll Horning 1675

	location	surname	other names	forename	notes	x-cap
505	Beilch	Cameron		Fenlay moir	in	1
506	Beilch	McDonald	Cameron	Donald	ther	1
507	Beilch	McLespie	Cameron	John	yr	1
508	Beilch	McEwne	v'Finlay moir	Donald	ther	1
509	Ardnacross etc.	McAllan	v'Eandry alias McLean	Charles	tacksmn of	1
510	Arrois in Kinallie	McLean		Lauchlane	and	1
511	Arrois in Kinallie	McLean		Malcolme	and	1
512	Arrois in Kinallie	McLean		John	in	1
513	Kentallaine	McIlvorich		John	in	1
514	Kentallaine	McEan	roy	Archd	and	1
515	Kentallaine	McEan	roy	Angus	yr	1
516	Ledbeg &c.	McLean		Donald	tacksmn of	1
517	Leemore	McIllephadrick		Archd	in	1
518	Leemore	McShirrie		John	yr	1
519	Leemore	McIllephadrick		John	yr	1
520	Cranik	McMurdoch	alias Campbell	Donald	in	1
521	Letirmore	McLean		Jon	in	1
522	Archandasenag	McLean		Hector	fiar of Kenloch	2

APPENDIX IV

ST CUTHBERTS EXAMINATION ROLLS c.1635 (& 1759-50).

The St Cuthberts examination rolls of c.1635 (CH2/718/210) were investigated with the view of making comparisons with the examination rolls for that parish which also exist for the years 1749-50 (CH2/718/212). 2,241 names were collated from the c.1635 roll, and 6,024 names on the rolls for 1749-50. In the data-base for 1635 and 1749-50 the same 6 fields are used, with those given the number 2 under the column 'tent' initially anticipated as being the tenants as opposed to sub-tenants. But as in the c.1635 data there were 791 of these (or 32.7 per cent of the total listing) they are much more likely to be simply the heads of the households. In the c.1635 print-out the column headed 'designations', 'comments' would subsequently appear to have been a better heading, as this column tends to list mostly the sick who were unable attend services. In the column headed 'notes', this has been allocated by the c.1635 clerks for a system of codes. 'ad' would appear to be for admitted, and as the codes beginning with 'y' seem to be for a person at the end of a potential family grouping, this code might be for a young communicant.

As in both surveys it was unclear as to exactly who were tenants and who were subtenants, the c.1635 examination roll was eventually laid aside in favour of the information that was available for some of the burgh of Edinburgh's sub-parishes. At this juncture therefore the hundreds of pages pertaining to the 6,024 names on the 1749-50 St Cuthberts examination rolls, have not been printed out for this project, especially as this would have consisted of a complete separate appendix volume.

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	desigtn	note
1	Southsyd West Port	Penicooke	George	2		ll
2	Southsyd West Port	Adamsone	Janet	1		l
3	Southsyd West Port	Campbell	John	2		ad
4	Southsyd West Port	Phinlay	Janet	1		ad
5	Southsyd West Port	Campbell	Samuel	1		ad
6	Southsyd West Port	Fultoun	Johne	2		ad
7	Southsyd West Port	Haigs	Elspet	1		lb
8	Southsyd West Port	Creichtoun	Elspet	1		-
9	Southsyd West Port	Kilpatrick	Bessie	1		ad
10	Southsyd West Port	Mwrie	Johne	2		ad
11	Southsyd West Port	Mow	Mart	1		ad
12	Southsyd West Port	Mowbray	James	2		ad
13	Southsyd West Port	Ormiston	Elspet	1		ad
14	Southsyd West Port	Mowbray	Bessie	1		-
15	Southsyd West Port	Gray	Johne	1		ad
16	Southsyd West Port	Hodge	Agnes	2		ad
17	Southsyd West Port	Clerk	Thomas	2		ad
18	Southsyd West Port	Read	Kat.	1		l
19	Southsyd West Port	Clerk	Helene	1		ad
20	Southsyd West Port	Clerk	Janet	1		ad
21	Southsyd West Port	Miller	Mart	2		ad
22	Southsyd West Port	Symson	William	2		ad
23	Southsyd West Port	Hill	Mart	1		ad
24	Southsyd West Port	Thomson	Johne	1		-
25	Southsyd West Port	Biger	Robert	1		lb
26	Southsyd West Port	Napeir	Johne	2		ad
27	Southsyd West Port	Crystie	Mart	1		ad
28	Southsyd West Port	Napeir	Issobell	1		ad
29	Southsyd West Port	Walter	Andro	2		ad
30	Southsyd West Port	Michell	Cristian	1	syk(sick)	ad
31	Southsyd West Port	Read	Johne	1		ad
32	Southsyd West Port	Thomson	George	1		ll
33	Southsyd West Port	Thomson	Thomas	2		ad
34	Southsyd West Port	Forsyt	Elspet	1		ad
35	Southsyd West Port	Galbrayth	Bessie	1		lb
36	Southsyd West Port	Colvin	Thomas	2		ad
37	Southsyd West Port	Hastie	Janet	1		ad
38	Southsyd West Port	Colvin	Jeane	1		ad
39	Southsyd West Port	Wilsone	James	2		ad
40	Southsyd West Port	Bischope	Mart	1		lb
41	Southsyd West Port	Herrott	James	2		ad
42	Southsyd West Port	Herrott	James	1		ad
43	Southsyd West Port	Slewman	Jeane	1		ad
44	Southsyd West Port	Abernethey	James	1		ad
45	Southsyd West Port	Stevinson	Jeane	1	get	lb
46	Southsyd West Port	Scott	Jonet	2		ad
47	Southsyd West Port	Gray	Mart	2	* 8 Feb	ad
48	Southsyd West Port	Biger	Jonet	1	seik	ad
49	Southsyd West Port	Biger	Jeane	1		ad
50	Southsyd West Port	Dawling	Marion	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location		surname	forename	tent	desigtn	note
51	Southsyd	West	Port Phinlay	Issobell	1		-
52	Southsyd	West	Port Doig	James	2		ad
53	Southsyd	West	Port Doig	Andro	1		ad
54	Southsyd	West	Port Hislope	Alexr	2		ad
55	Southsyd	West	Port McKenzie	Agnes	1		ad
56	Southsyd	West	Port Hislope	Archibald	1		ad
57	Southsyd	West	Port Hislope	George	1		ad
58	Southsyd	West	Port Hislope	Kat.	1		lb
59	Southsyd	West	Port Dowglas	Johne	2		ad
60	Southsyd	West	Port Young	Mart	1		ad
61	Southsyd	West	Port Dowglas	Bessie	1		ad
62	Southsyd	West	Port Wilsone	Johne	2	dead	-
63	Southsyd	West	Port Flemyng	Mart	1		ad
64	Southsyd	West	Port Ranald	Henrie	1		ad
65	Southsyd	West	Port Wilson	Grisell	1		ad
66	Southsyd	West	Port Matheson	James	2		ad
67	Southsyd	West	Port Maxwell	Marion	1		ad
68	Southsyd	West	Port Weir	James	2		ad
69	Southsyd	West	Port Wilson	Janet	1		ad
70	Southsyd	West	Port Marshall	Johne	1		lb
71	Southsyd	West	Port Wylie	William	2		ad
72	Southsyd	West	Port Russell	Beatrix	1		-
73	Southsyd	West	Port Scott	James	2		ad
74	Southsyd	West	Port Wilsone	Kat.	1		ad
75	Southsyd	West	Port Todder	Jonat	1		-
76	Southsyd	West	Port Biger	Richard	2		ad
77	Southsyd	West	Port Jonson	Bessie	1		ad
78	Southsyd	West	Port Biger	Robert	1	(hawerg)	-
79	Southsyd	West	Port Jonson	Robert	2		ad
80	Southsyd	West	Port Ton'bie	Cristian	1		ad
81	Southsyd	West	Port Jonson	Issobell	1		ad
82	Southsyd	West	Port Maxwell	Barbara	2		ad
83	Southsyd	West	Port McKilhors	Johne	2		ad
84	Southsyd	West	Port Broun	Beatrix	1		ll
85	Southsyd	West	Port Baxter	William	1	seik	-
86	Southsyd	West	Port Jonkulson	Jonet	2		ad
87	Southsyd	West	Port Fribairne	Alexr	2		ad
88	Southsyd	West	Port Mosman	Marion	1		ad
89	Southsyd	West	Port Balta'quel	Isobell	1		-
90	Southsyd	West	Port Cuthbertso	William	2		ad
91	Southsyd	West	Port Wilson	Marion	1		lb
92	Southsyd	West	Port Air	Ricahrd	2		ad
93	Southsyd	West	Port Gladstanes	Marion	1		ad
94	Southsyd	West	Port Scowlar	William	2		ad
95	Southsyd	West	Port Gudlet	Issobell	1		ad
96	Southsyd	West	Port Scowlar	William	1		ad
97	Southsyd	West	Port Wod	George	2		ad
98	Southsyd	West	Port Wast	Issobell	1	seik	ad
99	Southsyd	West	Port Cleghorn	Jonet	2		ad
100	Southsyd	West	Port Geddis	Charles	1	get	-

APPENDIX FOUR

	location			surname	forename	tent	desigtn	note
101	Southsyd	West	Port	Twydul	Mart	1		1
102	Southsyd	West	Port	Cunningham	David	2		ad
103	Southsyd	West	Port	Wilsone	Bessie	1		ad
104	Southsyd	West	Port	Watson	Marion	1		ad
105	Southsyd	West	Port	Broun	Alexr	2	afield, spar-	
106	Southsyd	West	Port	Mathesone	Bessie	1		-
107	Southsyd	West	Port	Pudzeanes	Patrik	2		ad
108	Southsyd	West	Port	Wylie	Issobell	1		ad
109	Southsyd	West	Port	Towdoun	Jonnet	1		lb
110	Southsyd	West	Port	Wyshart	David	2	8 & 9 Feb	ad
111	Southsyd	West	Port	Smythe	Mart	1		ad
112	Southsyd	West	Port	Wyshart	Alisone	1		ad
113	Southsyd	West	Port	Lawson	James	2		ad
114	Southsyd	West	Port	Read	Elspet	1		ad
115	Southsyd	West	Port	Davidson	Rot.	2		ad
116	Southsyd	West	Port	Hunter	Helene	1		ad
117	Southsyd	West	Port	Or	Johne	2		ad
118	Southsyd	West	Port	Davidson	Alisone	1		ad
119	Southsyd	West	Port	Williamson	Gilbert	2		ad
120	Southsyd	West	Port	Trotter	Helene	1		ad
121	Southsyd	West	Port	Trotter	Helene	1		-
122	Southsyd	West	Port	Lorimer	Andro	2		ad
123	Southsyd	West	Port	Nisbit	Nisbit	2		-
124	Southsyd	West	Port	Tod	Mart	1	seik	-
125	Southsyd	West	Port	Fairbairne	William	2		-
126	Southsyd	West	Port	Small	Jonet	1		ad
127	Southsyd	West	Port	Spence	Marion	1		lb
128	Southsyd	West	Port	Spence	Alisoun	1		ad
129	Southsyd	West	Port	Wilsone	Thomas	1		ad
130	Southsyd	West	Port	Smyt	Elspet	1		ad
131	Southsyd	West	Port	Wilson	Adame	1		ad
132	Southsyd	West	Port	Wilson	Mart	1		ad
133	Southsyd	West	Port	Linlythgow	George	1		ad
134	Southsyd	West	Port	Wilson	Jonet	1		ad
135	Southsyd	West	Port	Straton	Johne	1		ad
136	Southsyd	West	Port	Adamson	Michael	2	9 Feb.	ad
137	Southsyd	West	Port	Lowson	Issobell	1		ad
138	Southsyd	West	Port	Alane	Alisone	2		ad
139	Southsyd	West	Port	Fribairne	Johne	2		ad
140	Southsyd	West	Port	Davidson	Mart	1		ad
141	Southsyd	West	Port	Fribairne	Jon	1		ad
142	Southsyd	West	Port	Haig	William	1		ad
143	Southsyd	West	Port	Bradie	Alexr	1	get	-
144	Southsyd	West	Port	Adamson	Johne	2		ad
145	Southsyd	West	Port	Hay	Mart	1		ad
146	Southsyd	West	Port	Adamson	Mart	1		cc
147	Southsyd	West	Port	Bell	Johne	2		ad
148	Southsyd	West	Port	Haistie	Cristian	1		ad
149	Southsyd	West	Port	Young	Daniel	2		ad
150	Southsyd	West	Port	Broune	Adame	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location		surname	forename	tenet	design	note
151	Southsyd	West Port	Dickson	Johne	2		ad
152	Southsyd	West Port	Stewart	Mart	1		ad
153	Southsyd	West Port	Mott	Jonet	2	seik	-
154	Southsyd	West Port	Miller	Bessie	1		1
155	Southsyd	West Port	Stew[art]	Bessie	1		lb
156	Southsyd	West Port	Lauder	Ewphame	2		ad
157	Southsyd	West Port	Brok	Jeane	1		ad
158	Southsyd	West Port	Finlay	Archibal	2		ad
159	Southsyd	West Port	Ramsay	Kat.	1	seik	ad
160	Southsyd	West Port	Paterson	Johne	1	disob'	-
161	Southsyd	West Port	Moore	Jonet	2		ad
162	Southsyd	West Port	Jonston	James	1		ad
163	Southsyd	West Port	Jonston	Jonet	1		ad
164	Southsyd	West Port	Purves	Alexr	2		ad
165	Southsyd	West Port	Phinlay	Jonat	1		ad
166	Southsyd	West Port	Jerden	Jonet	1		-
167	Southsyd	West Port	Wilson	Sara	2		ad
168	Southsyd	West Port	Blaiklaw	Gawin	2		ad
169	Southsyd	West Port	Marr	Bessie	1		ad
170	Southsyd	West Port	Mitchell	George	2		ad
171	Southsyd	West Port	Penicooke	Debora	1		-
172	Southsyd	West Port	Fribairne	Alexr	2		ad
173	Southsyd	West Port	Paterson	Jeane	1		ad
174	Southsyd	West Port	Ramsay	George	2		ad
175	Southsyd	West Port	Watterston	Alisone	1		ad
176	Southsyd	West Port	Lowrie	Robert	1		ad
177	Southsyd	West Port	Falay	Mart	1		ad
178	Southsyd	West Port	Hotoun	James	1		1
179	Southsyd	West Port	Bowie	Jonet	2		ad
180	Southsyd	West Port	Storie	Issobell	1		ad
181	Southsyd	West Port	Hagie	William	2		ad
182	Southsyd	West Port	Younger	Marion	1		ad
183	Southsyd	West Port	Gibsone	Issobell	1		ad
184	Southsyd	West Port	Finlayson	Issobell	1		ad
185	Southsyd	West Port	Henrysone	Johne	1		lb
186	Southsyd	West Port	Baxter	Jonet	1		lb
187	Southsyd	West Port	Young	James	1		lb
188	Southsyd	West Port	Young	Helene	1	seik	-
189	Southsyd	West Port	Masthe	Robert	2		ad
190	Southsyd	West Port	Wilson	Mart	1		ad
191	Southsyd	West Port	Ewart	Johne	2		ad
192	Southsyd	West Port	Con	Helene	1		ad
193	Southsyd	West Port	Drylay	Helene	2		lb
194	Southsyd	West Port	Stutie	Jonet	1		lb
195	Southsyd	West Port	Chalmers	Marion	2		lb
196	Southsyd	West Port	Walker	Jonet	1		1
197	Southsyd	West Port	Coutts	Rot.	2		ad
198	Southsyd	West Port	Craig	Mart	1		ad
199	Southsyd	West Port	Bromhill	Thomas	2		ad
200	Southsyd	West Port	Blair	Helene	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location			surname	forename	tent	desigtn	note
201	Southsyd	West	Port	Dun	William	2		ad
202	Southsyd	West	Port	Haddowne	Issobell	1		ad
203	Southsyd	West	Port	Gairdiner	Nicoll	2	15 & 16 Feb.	lb
204	Southsyd	West	Port	Caldpaine	Helene	1		-
205	Southsyd	West	Port	Gairdiner	Issobell	1	for.	-
206	Southsyd	West	Port	Cunningham	Edward	2		ad
207	Southsyd	West	Port	Wilkie	Agnes	1		-
208	Southsyd	West	Port	Cunningham	Alisone	1		ad
209	Southsyd	West	Port	Weddell	Issobell	1		ad
210	Southsyd	West	Port	Wilsone	William	1		ad
211	Southsyd	West	Port	Wauche	Sarah	1		ad
212	Southsyd	West	Port	Murie	James	2		ad
213	Southsyd	West	Port	Spa'ks	Alisoun	1		ad
214	Southsyd	West	Port	Mure	Rot.	1		-
215	Southsyd	West	Port	Blakie	Jonet	1		1
216	Southsyd	West	Port	Watson	Jonet	2		ad
217	Southsyd	West	Port	Stevinson	James	1		-
218	Southsyd	West	Port	Broun	Mart	1		-
219	Southsyd	West	Port	Cockburne	James	2		da
220	Southsyd	West	Port	Craig	Marion	1		lb
221	Southsyd	West	Port	Adamson	Johne	2		ad
222	Southsyd	West	Port	Wickitshaw	Bessie	1		ad
223	Southsyd	West	Port	Gray	William	2		ad
224	Southsyd	West	Port	Gu'ter	Marion	1		ad
225	Southsyd	West	Port	Gray	William	1		ad
226	Southsyd	West	Port	Hunter	Beatrice	1		ad
227	Southsyd	West	Port	Fergusson	Issobell	2		ad
228	Southsyd	West	Port	Gray	Mart	1		ad
229	Southsyd	West	Port	Napeir	Alexr	2		ad
230	Southsyd	West	Port	Blak	Jonet	1		ad
231	Southsyd	West	Port	W[r]den	Andro	1		ad
232	Southsyd	West	Port	Marteine	Helene	1		ad
233	Southsyd	West	Port	Borland	James	2		ad
234	Southsyd	West	Port	Shed	Rachell	1		ad
235	Southsyd	West	Port	Birgen	Jonet	1		lb
236	Southsyd	West	Port	Fergusson	Jonet	2		ad
237	Southsyd	West	Port	Home	Robert	1		ad
238	Southsyd	West	Port	Thomson	Marion	1		ad
239	Southsyd	West	Port	Mure	Mart	1	seik	-
240	Southsyd	West	Port	Hu'bill	Mart	1		lb
241	Southsyd	West	Port	Wauch[ept]	Jonet	1		ad
242	Southsyd	West	Port	Cochrane	Johne	2		ad
243	Southsyd	West	Port	Inglis	Bessie	1		lb
244	Southsyd	West	Port	Geddis	William	2		ad
245	Southsyd	West	Port	Yilttoun	Helene	1		-
246	Southsyd	West	Port	Hill	Cristian	2	c.n.	1
247	Southsyd	West	Port	Young	Thomas	2		lb
248	Southsyd	West	Port	Ramage	Helene	1		ad
249	Southsyd	West	Port	Jack	James	2	seik	-
250	Southsyd	West	Port	Drysdail	Mart	1	seik	-

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	designn	note
251	Southsyd West Port	Jack	Agnes	1		ad
252	Southsyd West Port	Wast	Helene	1		ad
253	Southsyd West Port	Blak	Johne	2		ad
254	Southsyd West Port	Meyne	Alisoune	1		ad
255	Southsyd West Port	Blak	Bessie	1		ad
256	Southsyd West Port	Cuninghame	Elspet	2		lb
257	Southsyd West Port	Campbell	Johne	2		1
258	Southsyd West Port	Home	Bessie	1		ad
259	Southsyd West Port	Campbell	Mart	1		ad
260	Southsyd West Port	Aitkin	Bessie	2		ad
261	Southsyd West Port	Abernethy	Agnes	1		lb
262	Southsyd West Port	Frame	Masie	2		ad
263	Southsyd West Port	Broun	Jonet	1		ad
264	Southsyd West Port	Lowrie	William	2		ad
265	Southsyd West Port	Russell	Eupham	1		ad
266	Southsyd West Port	Mott	Mart	1		lb
267	Southsyd West Port	Lowrie	George	2	2g	ad
268	Southsyd West Port	Blak	Mart	1		ad
269	Southsyd West Port	Liddell	Johne	2		ad
270	Southsyd West Port	Balfour	Jeane	1		ad
271	Southsyd West Port	Broun	James	2		ad
272	Southsyd West Port	Bowie	Mart	1		ad
273	Southsyd West Port	Broun	William	1		ad
274	Southsyd West Port	Cairnis	James	1		ad
275	Southsyd West Port	Scowlar	Johne	2		ad
276	Southsyd West Port	Broun	Barbara	1		ad
277	Southsyd West Port	Watson	Jeane	1		ad
278	Southsyd West Port	Cooke	James	2		ad
279	Southsyd West Port	Muray	Kat.	1		lb
280	Southsyd West Port	Forrester	Mart	2		lb
281	Southsyd West Port	Lumsden	James	1		lb
282	Southsyd West Port	Barnfather	Thomas	2		ad
283	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Andro	Issobell	1		ad
284	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Short	Elspet	1		lb
285	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Hamiltoun	Gawin	2		ad
286	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Borthuik	Magdalen	1		ad
287	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Patonn	Mart	1		-
288	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Miller	Alexr	2		lb
289	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Somervell	Helene	1		lb
290	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Duncan	Jeane	1		-
291	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Somervell	James	2		-
292	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Stewart	Barbara	1		-
293	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Broun	James	2	in Tolbooth	-
294	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Howistoun	Jeane	1		-
295	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Jonson	David	2		ad
296	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Broun	Issobell	1		-
297	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Weddell	Mart	1		-
298	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Jonson	Alexr	2		lb
299	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Calpie	Elspet	1		lb
300	SW Port Calsayend(1634)	Scott	George	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
301	Sth.W Port,	CalsayePe'nie	Bessie	1		ad
302	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCairten	James	2		ad
303	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeLawson	Elspet	1		ad
304	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCairten	Johne	1		yl
305	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeBlak	Rot.	2		ad
306	Sth.W Port,	CalsayePe'nie	Jonat	1		ad
307	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeBanie	Issobell	1		ad
308	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeDuncan	George	2		ad
309	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeBarnfather	Bessie	1		ad
310	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeThomson	William	2		ad
311	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeGibson	Helene	1		lb
312	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeWalkery	Cristian	1		lb
313	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCurrie	William	2		ad
314	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeDraffen	Bessie	1		ad
315	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeGibson	Jonet	1		ad
316	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeEwart	Adame	2		ad
317	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeRutherford	Bessie	1		ad
318	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeAlexander	Johne	2		lb
319	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeQuhyt	Mart	1		-
320	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeHeroun	Jonet	2		ad
321	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeStevinson	Jonet	1		ad
322	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeStevinson	Elspet	1		ad
323	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeDonaldson	[m'temir	1		lb
324	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeBroun	James	2		lb
325	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeLyonn	Bessie	1		lb
326	Sth.W Port,	CalsayePaterson	Jon	2		lb
327	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeSymson	Agnes	1		lb
328	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeEdmond	Mr James	2	dead	-
329	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeFowler	Jeane	1		-
330	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCadell	Hew	1		-
331	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeMurray	Mart	1		-
332	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeLaw	Jonet	1		-
333	Sth.W Port,	CalsayePeskirk	Jonet	1		-
334	Sth.W Port,	CalsayePaislay	Mart	2	for.	-
335	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeQuhyt	Johne	2		ad
336	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeRankene	Beatrix	1		ad
337	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCraig	William	2		ad
338	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeSnoddie	Sibella	1		l
339	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeKincaid	Barbara	2		-
340	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCowtts	Johne	1		-
341	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCowtts	Issabel	1		-
342	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCowtts	Johne	2		ad
343	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeSelkirk	Janet	1		ad
344	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeHeron	Barbara	2		ad
345	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeNapeir	Rot.	1		ad
346	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeScott	Marion	1		ad
347	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeLeirmonth	James	2		lb
348	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeDalrimpill	Jonet	1		ad
349	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeScowlar	William	2		ad
350	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeHill	Cristian	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	design	note
351	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Homina..	George	2	mason	ad
352	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wadrope	Marion	1		ad
353	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Knowis	Johne	2		ad
354	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Galbrayt	Jonet	1		ad
355	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Gudfollow	Andrew	2		ad
356	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Heronn	Marion	1		ad
357	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Dewar	Janet	1		lb
358	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Broun	Alexr	2		ad
359	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Baittie	Marion	1		ad
360	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Gray	Mart	1		ad
361	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mcclair	Mart	2		lb
362	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Read	Thomas	1	afield	-
363	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Clerk	Mart	2		ad
364	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Young	Thomas	2		ad
365	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Lowrie	Mart	1	seik	ad
366	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Heriott	Grissell	1		lb
367	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Lambe	Alexr	2		ad
368	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Binnit	Bessie	1		ad
369	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Murdoche	Jonet	1		ad
370	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Nicoll	Johne	1		lb
371	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Purves	Bessie	1	c.n.	ll
372	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Nisbit	William	1		lb
373	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Corss	Mart	1		ll
374	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Purves	Thomas	2		ad
375	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Aikman	Helene	1	seik	ad
376	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Purves	George	1	seik	ad
377	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Malloche	Patrick	1	seik	-
378	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Giles pie	James	1	seik	lb
379	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Warden	Elspet	1		ad
380	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Symontoun	Jonet	2		ad
381	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	R'd	Patrik	2		ad
382	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Jackson	Bessie	1		ad
383	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	R'd	James	1	seik	lb
384	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Gray	Agnes	1		ad
385	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Spadie	George	2		ad
386	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Chalmers	Janet	1		ad
387	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilsone	Kat.	1		lb
388	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Cooke	Daniel	2		ad
389	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Borthuik	Fleashe	1	seik	-
390	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Cooke	Kat.	1		ad
391	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hamilton	Johne	2		-
392	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Jealls	Wast	1		-
393	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Alane	Johne	2		ad
394	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Morisone	Mart	1	seik	ad
395	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Fawler	Mart	1		ad
396	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hunter	William	2	(alrvt)	ad
397	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Coshe	Marion	1		ad
398	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Lo[w]rie	David	2		ad
399	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Heronn	Elspet	1		ad
400	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wast	George	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	designn	note
401	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeWeirdie	Marion	1		ad
402	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeBracan	Johne	2		ad
403	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeRankene	Alisone	1		ad
404	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeBishope	Cristian	2		ad
405	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeWilson	Henry	2	seik	ad
406	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeGalloway	Jonet	1		lb
407	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeMiller	Johne	2		lb
408	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeSmyt	Jonet	1		lb
409	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeMcDowgall	Archibal	2		-
410	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCurrie	Helene	1		-
411	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeBoirland	William	2		ad
412	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeSymson	Helene	1		0
413	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeMurie	Johne	2		ad
414	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeChancellor	Nicolas	1		ll
415	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeLowrie	Thomas	2		ad
416	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeScott	Elspet	1		ad
417	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeLowrie	Agnes	1		ad
418	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeLowrie	Issobell	1		ad
419	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeRedheid	George	1		ll
420	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeStevinson	William	2		ad
421	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeFleming	Mart	1		ad
422	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeThomson	Adam	1		ad
423	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeGray	Jonat	1		ad
424	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeLettrik	Johne	2		ad
425	Sth.W Port,	CalsayePaterson	Issobell	1		ad
426	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeLettrisk	Thomas	1		yl
427	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCock	Thomas	2	1&2 March	ad
428	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeQuhyt	Jonet	1		ad
429	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeHeriot	Rot.	2		ad
430	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCruk	Kat.	1		ad
431	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeHislop	Andrw	1		lb
432	Sth.W Port,	CalsayePollok	David	2		ad
433	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeBradie	Jonet	1		l
434	Sth.W Port,	CalsayePollok	Bessie	1		ad
435	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeJonson	Gilbert	2	beg	-
436	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeJonson	Marie	1		-
437	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeJonson	Agnes	1		ylb
438	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeWatson	Peter	2		ad
439	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeWilson	Elspet	1		-
440	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeCa'b	Jonet	2		lb
441	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeW'rok	Mart	1		lb
442	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeWilson	Elspet	1		lb
443	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeGibson	Jonet	1		ylb
444	Sth.W Port,	CalsayePa'nay	Johne	2		lb
445	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeMatheson	Agnes	1		ad
446	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeSturg[ehwi	Rot.	2		ad
447	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeForrest	Marion	1		lb
448	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeBalfour	Jon	2		l
449	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeMegat	Helene	1		l
450	Sth.W Port,	CalsayeAndro	Robert	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
451	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Barten	Marion	1		ad
452	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	Robert	2		ad
453	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Thomson	Marion	1		ad
454	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	Johne	2		l
455	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Greve	Mart	1		l
456	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Stevinsoun	Jonet	2	seik	-
457	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Montgomrie	Marion	1		ad
458	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Inglis	Robert	2		ad
459	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Chalmers	Jonet	1		ad
460	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Anderson	James	2		ad
461	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Anderson	Jonet	1	seik	-
462	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Smyt	Marion	2		ad
463	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Glas	Helene	1		-
464	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Miller	Mart	2		lb
465	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Fairbairne	Alisone	1		lb
466	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Henryson	James	2		ad
467	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Jonson	Mart	1		ad
468	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Symson	Thomas	2		ad
469	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Boyd	Janet	1	seik	-
470	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Gray	James	2		ad
471	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Elsone	Marion	1		ad
472	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	William	2		ad
473	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hill	Jonat	1		lb
474	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Blak	William	1		ad
475	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	Alexr	2		ad
476	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Park	Jonet	1		ad
477	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mowat	Thomas	2		ad
478	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Comen	Finlay	2		ad
479	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Grissell	Methven	1		-
480	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Helene	Comen	1		ad
481	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Drylay	Jeane	2		l
482	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Dairk	Marion	1		ad
483	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Paterson	Johne	1	L.	-
484	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hacker	Andro	2		l
485	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Scott	Mart	1		lb
486	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bairland	Johne	1		lb
487	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Craig	Helene	1		ll
488	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Finlayson	Cristian	1		-
489	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Thomson	Thomas	2		ad
490	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Park	Mart	1		ad
491	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Lyell	Robert	2		ad
492	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mcclair	Jeane	1		ad
493	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Russell	Barbara	2		l
494	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Inglis	Barbara	1		lb
495	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Walker	George	2		ad
496	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Caldwell	Elspe	1		ad
497	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Rot'son	Thomas	2		ad
498	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Syme	Jonet	1		ad
499	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Greenters	James	2		ad
500	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Cruk	Jonet	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	design	note
501	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mowat	Robert	2		ad
502	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Neilson	Jonet	1		ad
503	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Stratoun	Marion	2		ad
504	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Craw	William	1	seik	ad
505	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Glendenyng	Magdalen	1		lb
506	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Montgomrie	William	2		ad
507	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	Sara	1		ad
508	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Park	Johne	2		ad
509	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Jonson	Jonet	1		ad
510	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Anderson	Ard.	2		-
511	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Palmer	Elspet	1		-
512	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hugat	Thomas	2		ad
513	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Nicolson	Jonat	1		ad
514	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hodge	Jealls	2		ad
515	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Watson	Bessie	1		lb
516	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Young	Adame	2		ad
517	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wyshart	Bessie	1		ad
518	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Cooke	Johne	2		ad
519	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Jemisone	Beatrix	1		ad
520	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Cooke	Issobell	1		yt1
521	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Fairholme	Thomas	2		ad
522	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilkie	Agnes	1		ad
523	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Fairholme	George	1		ad
524	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Aitkin	Jonet	1	gel	-
525	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Meyne	Gawin	2		ad
526	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Skel[dn]	Janet	1		ad
527	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Yuill	Alexr	2		ad
528	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Pirie	Kat.	1		ad
529	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Turnbill	Rot.	1		ad
530	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Yuill	Jonet	1	lyand	-
531	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Pirie	Kat.	1		ad
532	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Pirie	Marion	1		ad
533	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Scott	Jonet	2	8&9 March	-
534	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bairnfathe	Malcolme	2		ad
535	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Borthuik	Marion	1		ad
536	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bairnfathe	Janet	1		ad
537	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mitchell	Issobell	2		ad
538	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Fairholme	Charles	1		ad
539	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Murheid	George	2		lb
540	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Read	Jonet	1		lb
541	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wyshart	Alexr	2		ad
542	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Penicook	Issobell	1		ad
543	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Listoun	Andro	2		ad
544	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Smyt	Bessie	1		ad
545	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Listoun	William	1		-
546	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Listoun	Ana	1		yib
547	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Williamson	Adam	2		ad
548	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Math[ie]	Agnes	1		ad
549	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Blair	William	2	get	-
550	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Broun	Helene	1		-

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	desigtn	note
551	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Jonson	Edward	2		ad
552	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Adame	Issobell	1		ad
553	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Clerk	Bessie	1		ad
554	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Read	Bessie	2		ll
555	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Read	Jonat	1		-
556	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Broun	Jon	2		-
557	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Schaw	Marion	1		-
558	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Dowglas	Robert	2		ad
559	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Biger	Sussana	1		ad
560	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Anderson	Helene	1		ad
561	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Dewar	Johne	2		ad
562	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Wilson	Masie	1		ad
563	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Younger	Katharine	2		-
564	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Robieson	Jon	2		lb
565	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Hunter	Helene	1		lb
566	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Marteine	James	2		ad
567	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Currie	Mart	1		ad
568	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Lawder	Thomas	1	away	-
569	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Marteine	Kat.	1		ad
570	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Williamson	Edward	1		ad
571	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Jackson	Rot.	2		ad
572	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Lawrie	Sussana	1		ad
573	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Selkirk	Rot.	1		ad
574	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Pidine	Marion	1		ad
575	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Winrame	Andro	2		ad
576	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Lawson	Barbara	1	seik	-
577	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Cuthbertso	Thomas	2	9&15 March	ad
578	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Swanson	Mart	1		lb
579	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Cuthbertso	James	1		ad
580	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Hindshaw	Johne	2		ad
581	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Read	Cristian	1		-
582	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Adamson	James	2		ad
583	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Clerk	Helene	1		lb
584	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Dewar	George	2		ad
585	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Borthuik	Sara	1		ad
586	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Wyshart	Mart	1		ad
587	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Melross	Johne	2		ad
588	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Glen	Mart	1		ad
589	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Melross	Thomas	1		ad
590	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Stalker	Elspet	1		ad
591	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Hoome	Archibal	2		ad
592	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Wilsoune	Jonet	1		ad
593	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Williamson	Thomas	2		ad
594	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Kay	Jonet	1		ad
595	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Williamson	William	1		ad
596	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Williamson	Agnes	1		ad
597	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Borthuik	Florishe	1		ylb
598	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Storrocher	Patrick	2		ad
599	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Pe'[nill]	Agnes	1	seik	lb
600	Sth.W Port, Calsayen	Murdoche	Johne	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	desigtn	note
601	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Barten	Barbara	1		ad
602	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Murdoche	William	1		ad
603	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Barron	Mart	1	gel	ad
604	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Marteine	George	2		ad
605	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Cassill	Jonet	1		ad
606	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Marteine	George	1		yt
607	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Jonson	George	1		ad
608	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	James	2		-
609	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Adamson	Mart	1		-
610	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Michell	Cristian	2		ad
611	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Adamson	Agnes	1		ad
612	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Law	Jealls	1		ad
613	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Anderson	Richard	2		ad
614	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Murdoche	Florishe	1		ad
615	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hannay	William	1		ad
616	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Stevinson	Johne	2		lb
617	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Prater	Jeane	1		lb
618	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Smyt	Johne	2		ad
619	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Davidson	Marion	1		ad
620	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hog	Johne	2		ad
621	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Miller	Kat.	1	seik	lb
622	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Warrane	Thomas	2		ad
623	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wryt	Mart	1		ad
624	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Stewart	Marion	2		l
625	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Jonson	Jon	2	beg	-
626	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Jonson	James	1		-
627	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bennet	Marion	1		lb
628	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bar	Adame	2		ad
629	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Lowrie	Jonet	1		ad
630	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Patoun	Mathow	2		-
631	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hoome	Bessie	1		-
632	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hill	Ard.	2	get	-
633	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Fairbairne	Elspit	1		-
634	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Landell	Mart	2		lb
635	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Robb	Johne	2		ad
636	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Robb	Thomas	1		ad
637	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Robb	Janet	1		ad
638	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Ritchieson	Marcus	2		ad
639	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Robeson	Jonet	1		ad
640	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Ritchieson	Mart	1		ad
641	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Crawfurd	James	2	cowman	ad
642	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Brounlie	Jonet	1	gel	ad
643	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Crawfurd	Mart	1		ad
644	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Thomson	Bessie	2		ad
645	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Aitkin	Alexr	1		ad
646	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Aitkin	Thomas	1		ad
647	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bronstanes	Clement	2		ad
648	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Byar	Helene	1	lynad	ad
649	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bronstanes	Rot.	1		ll
650	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Logan	Mathow	2		-

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
651	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Anderson	Mart	1	steills hi	-
652	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Chancellor	Alexr	2		ad
653	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	W[in]rame	Mart	1		ad
654	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Kedie	Thomas	1		-
655	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Chancellor	Jonet	1		yl
656	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Urie	Thomas	2		ad
657	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Spottiswod	Marion	1		ad
658	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bennet	James	2		ad
659	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Gudfellow	Janet	1		ad
660	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bronstanes	Johne	2		ad
661	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Dowglas	Archece	1		ad
662	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wylie	James	2	c.n.	lb
663	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Marion	Archibal	1		ad
664	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hadden	David	2		ad
665	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hall	Grissell	1		ad
666	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Alane	Barbara	2		ad
667	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mathesone	Bessie	1		ad
668	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilkie	Jonet	1		ad
669	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Jemison	William	2		ad
670	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Scowlar	Jonet	1		lb
671	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mowatt	Robert	2		ad
672	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hallow	Agnes	1		ad
673	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wallace	James	2		ad
674	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Lauder	Elspet	1		ad
675	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bisset	James	2		ad
676	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Broun	Kat.	1		ad
677	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Duncan	James	2		ad
678	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Nicolson	Jlls	1		ad
679	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Balquhanan	Helene	1		ad
680	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Abercumbi	Marjorie	2		-
681	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Young	James	2		ad
682	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Jonston	Jonet	1		ad
683	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Quhyt	Edward	1		ad
684	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	David	2		ad
685	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mure	Alisone	1		ad
686	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	Edward	1		lb
687	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Downs	James	2		ad
688	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Elder	Jonet	1		ad
689	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Biger	David	2	15&16 March	ad
690	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Lawder	Mart	1		ad
691	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Biger	Johne	1		ad
692	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Biger	Bessie	1		ad
693	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Walker	Elspet	1		ad
694	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Lauder	William	1		ylb
695	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hodge	David	2	seik	-
696	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Scott	Jonet	1	s	-
697	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hodge	Willaim	1	seik	-
698	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Ranald	Helene	1		ad
699	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Dickson	William	1		ad
700	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Anderson	Marion	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
701	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Dickson	Johne	1		ad
702	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Young	Johne	2		ad
703	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Cassill	Marion	1		ad
704	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Levingston	Alexr	1		ad
705	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilsone	Johne	2		ad
706	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Glaidstani	Mart	1		ad
707	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Stoddert	Walter	1		lb
708	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Gray	Robert	2		ad
709	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Lorimer	Jonet	1		ad
710	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Miller	Johne	1		ad
711	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Galbrayt	Alexr	1		ad
712	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Crumbie	Jonet	1	p.p.	-
713	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Lochart	William	2		ad
714	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mccra[gl]	Cristian	1		ad
715	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Melvill	Jonet	1		ad
716	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	Marion	2		ad
717	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	Richard	1		ad
718	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	Bartill	1		ad
719	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Melross	Mart	1		ad
720	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Bro[th]	James	2		ad
721	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wast	Beatrix	1		ad
722	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Ritchieson		1		ad
723	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hadden	Mart	1		-
724	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mowbray	Robert	2	deid	-
725	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Horne	Jonet	1		ad
726	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Mowbray	William	1	away	-
727	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Crawfurd	Johne	2		-
728	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Ochiltrie	Alisoune	1		-
729	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Forman	Johne	2		ad
730	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Oramson	Jonet	1		ad
731	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wilson	Johne	1		ad
732	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Cuningham	James	1		ad
733	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Halyday	Agnes	1		lb
734	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Speirs	Johne	2		ad
735	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Syme	Mart	1		ad
736	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Hoome	George	2		ad
737	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Alexander	Janet	1		ad
738	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Campbell	Helene	1		ylb
739	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Forrest	William	2		ad
740	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Moffet	Mart	1		ad
741	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Forrest	Mart	1		ylb
742	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Grinlay	Robert	2		ad
743	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Nisbit	Jonet	1		ad
744	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Auchinlek	James	2		ad
745	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Auchinlek	Ard.	1		yt
746	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Symson	William	2		ad
747	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Philpe	Issobell	1		ad
748	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Wier	William	1		lb
749	Sth.W Port, Calsaye	Killoche	Rot.	1		ylb
750	St Ninians Raw	Clerk	Johne	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	desigtn	note
751	St Ninians Raw	Gers[oun]	Cristian	1		ad
752	St Ninians Raw	Erskene	Mart	1		yl
753	St Ninians Raw	Cuninghame	Bessie	1		-
754	St Ninians Raw	Hackerson	Mart	2	n.c.	-
755	St Ninians Raw	Watson	Agnes	1	p	-
756	St Ninians Raw	Anderson	William	1	c.n.	-
757	St Ninians Raw	Wylie	Helene	1		-
758	St Ninians Raw	Broun	Agnes	1		-
759	St Ninians Raw	Crawfurd	James	2		ad
760	St Ninians Raw	Dunmure	Helene	1		ad
761	St Ninians Raw	Crawfurd	Issobell	1		ad
762	St Ninians Raw	Welshe	Thomas	1		lb
763	St Ninians Raw	Crawfurd	Mart	1		ylb
764	St Ninians Raw	Stevinsone	Johne	2		ad
765	St Ninians Raw	Quhyt	Barbara	1		ad
766	St Ninians Raw	Howse	Rot.	2		ad
767	St Ninians Raw	Gray	Janet	1		ad
768	St Ninians Raw	Young	Alisone	1		-
769	St Ninians Raw	Turnor	William	2	c.n.	ll
770	St Ninians Raw	Turnor	William	1	c.n.	ll
771	St Ninians Raw	Somervell	Robert	2		ad
772	St Ninians Raw	Fa'dne	Jonet	1		ad
773	St Ninians Raw	Cruk	Thomas	2	get	-
774	St Ninians Raw	Huton	Marion	1	lyand	-
775	St Ninians Raw	G[rinton]	James	2	fynes woll	ad
776	St Ninians Raw	Hamilton	Helene	1		ad
777	St Ninians Raw	Ha'ter	Johne	2		ad
778	St Ninians Raw	Quhyt	Alexr	2	fynes wal	ad
779	St Ninians Raw	Broun	Marion	1		ad
780	St Ninians Raw	Anderson	Marion	2	seik	lb
781	St Ninians Raw	Guthrie	Kat.	1		ad
782	St Ninians Raw	Scott	Gilbert	1		lb
783	St Ninians Raw	Thomson	James	1	away	-
784	St Ninians Raw	Gevin	Elspet	1		-
785	St Ninians Raw	Balquhanna	Johne	2		ad
786	St Ninians Raw	Jonson	Agnes	1		ad
787	St Ninians Raw	Donaldson	Ewphame	2		-
788	St Ninians Raw	Crocket	Issobell	1		ad
789	St Ninians Raw	Kilpatrick	Thomas	2		ad
790	St Ninians Raw	Leitche	Agnes	1		ad
791	St Ninians Raw	Mure	Issobell	1		ad
792	St Ninians Raw	Air	Simon	2		ad
793	St Ninians Raw	Dumure	Jonet	1	seik	-
794	St Ninians Raw	Air	Johne	1	o	ad
795	St Ninians Raw	Air	Issobell	1	o	ad
796	St Ninians Raw	Mckilyow	Alexr	2		lb
797	St Ninians Raw	Jonet	Ross	1	seik	-
798	St Ninians Raw	McKilyow	Jonet	1		ad
799	St Ninians Raw	Threipland	James	2		ad
800	St Ninians Raw	Nathangie	Janet	1		-

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	desigtn	note
801	St Ninians Raw	Spence	James	1		-
802	St Ninians Raw	Horne	William	2		ad
803	St Ninians Raw	Watson	Marion	1		lgto
804	St Ninians Raw	Young	Frances	2		lb
805	St Ninians Raw	Hereis	Mart	1	deid	-
806	St Ninians Raw	Steill	Andro	2		ad
807	St Ninians Raw	Neilson	Elspet	1		ad
808	St Ninians Raw	Coish	Thomas	2		ad
809	St Ninians Raw	Hall	Issobell	1		ad
810	St Ninians Raw	Millar	Johne	1		lb
811	St Ninians Raw	Drysdail	Issb	1		ad
812	St Ninians Raw	Hart	James	2		ad
813	St Ninians Raw	Smyt	Bessie	1		ad
814	St Ninians Raw	Coish	Robert	2		ad
815	St Ninians Raw	Robeson	Bessie	1		ad
816	St Ninians Raw	Coish	Jonet	1		ad
817	St Ninians Raw	Neilson	Patrik	2		ad
818	St Ninians Raw	Leslie	Agnes	1		ad
819	St Ninians Raw	Neilson	Robert	1		ylb
820	St Ninians Raw	Watson	Johne	2		ad
821	St Ninians Raw	Ranald	Agnes	1		ad
822	St Ninians Raw	Watson	Elspet	1		ad
823	St Ninians Raw	Stewart	Johne	2	lyand	ad
824	St Ninians Raw	Robeson	Jonet	1	beg	l
825	St Ninians Raw	Tailzeor	Agnes	2	seklie	lb
826	St Ninians Raw	Dick	Rot.	2		ad
827	St Ninians Raw	Kinaird	Jonet	1		ad
828	St Ninians Raw	Baird	Issobell	1		ad
829	St Ninians Raw	Ramasay	George	2		ad
830	St Ninians Raw	Inglis	Mart	1		ad
831	St Ninians Raw	Home	Janet	1		-
832	St Ninians Raw	Gray	William	2	seik	-
833	St Ninians Raw	Gray	David	1	n.c.	-
834	St Ninians Raw	Cowie	Mart	2		lb
835	St Ninians Raw	Davidson	Kat.	1		lb
836	St Ninians Raw	Broun	Nicoll	2		ad
837	St Ninians Raw	Braidfut	Bessie	1		ad
838	St Ninians Raw	Smyt	James	2	c.n. beg	ad
839	St Ninians Raw	Smyt	Cristian	1		ad
840	St Ninians Raw	Smyth	Agnes	1		lb
841	St Ninians Raw	Rotson	William	1		ad
842	St Ninians Raw	Neilson	Jonet	1		ad
843	St Ninians Raw	Rotson	Bessie	1		lb
844	St Ninians Raw	Tailzeor	Thomas	1		lb
845	St Ninians Raw	Restoun	George	2	get	l
846	St Ninians Raw	Grinlay	Marion	1		l
847	St Ninians Raw	Cowane	Johne	2		lgto
848	St Ninians Raw	Robeson	Issob	1		ad
849	St Ninians Raw	Tru[heon]	Hew	2		ad
850	St Ninians Raw	Air	Jonet	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	desigtn	note
851	St Ninians Raw	Jackson	Kat.	1	get	-
852	St Ninians Raw	Blaikiter	Jeane	1	get	-
853	St Ninians Raw	Congiltoun	David	2	22-23 Mar	-
854	St Ninians Raw	Nicolson	Marion	1		-
855	St Ninians Raw	Campbell	Cristria	2		-
856	St Ninians Raw	Blair	Agnes	1		-
857	St Ninians Raw	Guy	Gilbert	2		-
858	St Ninians Raw	Hill	Robert	2		ad
859	St Ninians Raw	Dowglas	Agnes	1		l
860	St Ninians Raw	Hill	Rot.	1		-
861	St Ninians Raw	Meik	Jon	2		ad
862	St Ninians Raw	S[royn]e	Mart	1		ad
863	St Ninians Raw	Duncan	Peter	1		ad
864	St Ninians Raw	Duncan	James	1		lb
865	St Ninians Raw	Mcmurran	Jonet	1		ad
866	St Ninians Raw	Jonson	James	2	c.n.	l
867	St Ninians Raw	Read	Elspet	1		-
868	St Ninians Raw	Broun	Robert	2		ad
869	St Ninians Raw	Paterson	Issobell	1	seiklie	-
870	St Ninians Raw	Bannerman	Jonet	1		ad
871	St Ninians Raw	Heppermyll	Mart	1		-
872	St Ninians Raw	Broun	Johne	2		-
873	St Ninians Raw	Thorbrand	Jonet	1		ad
874	St Ninians Raw	Bowar	James	2	o	ad
875	St Ninians Raw	Stevinson	Mart	1	o	ad
876	St Ninians Raw	Levingston	Lowrence	2		-
877	St Ninians Raw	McCalzeane	Jonet	1		lb
878	St Ninians Raw	Clunie	Agnes	1		lb
879	Brochtoun	Oliphant	Johne	2		-
880	Brochtoun	Lundie	Epset	1		-
881	Brochtoun	Robeson	Andro	2		-
882	Brochtoun	Hoppringil	Elspet	1		-
883	Brochtoun	Shaw	Cristain	1		l
884	Brochtoun	Ochiltrie	Grissell	1		ad
885	Brochtoun	Bartilmo	George	2		ad
886	Brochtoun	Kenlie	Elspet	1		-
887	Brochtoun	Bartilmo	Maryt	1		ad
888	Brochtoun	Aird	Thomas	1		a
889	Brochtoun	Hart	Johne	1		ad
890	Brochtoun	Cuthbertso	Issobell	1		lb
891	Brochtoun	Hart	Helene	2		lb
892	Brochtoun	Quhyt	Andro	2		ad
893	Brochtoun	Frame	Helene	1		ad
894	Brochtoun	Quhyt	Issobell	1		ad
895	Brochtoun	Stevinstou	Janet	2		ad
896	Brochtoun	Alexander	James	2		ll
897	Brochtoun	Broun	Marion	1		ll
898	Brochtoun	Rutherfurd	Issobell	1	seklie	-
899	Brochtoun	Stevinson	Andro	1	rbill	-
900	Brochtoun	Cock	Alexr	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	designn	note
901	Brochtoun	Stevinson	Helene	1		ad
902	Brochtoun	Cock	James	1		ad
903	Brochtoun	Cock	Jonet	1		ad
904	Brochtoun	Erskene	Johne	2		ad
905	Brochtoun	Megert	Jonet	1		ad
906	Brochtoun	Dick	issobell	1		ad
907	Brochtoun	Anderson	Elspet	2		ad
908	Brochtoun	Gilcryst	Duncan	1		ad
909	Brochtoun	Blakburne	William	1		yl
910	Brochtoun	Oliphant	Lilias	1		ad
911	Brochtoun	Oliphant	Patrik	2		ad
912	Brochtoun	Pe'uik	Bessie	1		-
913	Brochtoun	Drysdail	Jeane	2		ad
914	Brochtoun	Murray	Helene	2		ad
915	Brochtoun	Murray	Issabell	1		ad
916	Brochtoun	Thomson	David	2	seik	ad
917	Brochtoun	Blakie	Kat.	1	seik	ad
918	Brochtoun	Hall	Marion	2		ab
919	Brochtoun	McCrayl	Jon	1		ylb
920	Brochtoun	Young	James	2		ad
921	Brochtoun	Henryson	Jeane	1		lb
922	Brochtoun	Chalmers	William	2		ad
923	Brochtoun	Young	Jeane	1		ad
924	Brochtoun	Borrland	William	1		-
925	Brochtoun	Chalmers	Sara	1		ad
926	Brochtoun	Crawfurd	Mart	2		-
927	Brochtoun	Matheson	James	1		-
928	Brochtoun	Crawfurd	Jeane	1		ad
929	Brochtoun	Mudie	Johne	1		ad
930	Brochtoun	Alane	William	1		ad
931	Brochtoun	Tod	William	1		ylb
932	Brochtoun	Home	James	1		-
933	Brochtoun	Matheson	Janet	1	get	1
934	Brochtoun	Gairdin	Elspet	1	fals test	1
935	Brochtoun	Traill	Rot.	1	c.n.	1
936	Brochtoun	Fairlie	Johne	2		ad
937	Brochtoun	Lyndesay	Jonet	1		-
938	Brochtoun	Fairlie	Agnes	1		ad
939	Brochtoun	Fairlie	Jonet	1		ad
940	Brochtoun	Hopprmyll	Thomas	1		-
941	Brochtoun	Robeson	Johne	2		lb
942	Brochtoun	Robeson	Johne	1		yt.
943	Brochtoun	Grant	Waster	2		lb
944	Brochtoun	Murray	Bessie	1		1
945	Brochtoun	Grant	Gilbert	1		0
946	Brochtoun	Kennedie	Rot.	2	seik	-
947	Brochtoun	Johnston	Marion	1		ad
948	Brochtoun	Smyt	Patrik	2		1
949	Brochtoun	Issobell	Porter	1		-
950	Brochtoun	Gray	Jonet	2	fals test	1

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	desigtn	note
951	Canonmills	Keine	James	2	23&29 March	ad
952	Canonmills	Beg	Mart	1		ad
953	Canonmills	Bab[ll]anie	Rot.	1		ad
954	Canonmills	Beg	William	1		ad
955	Canonmills	Watsone	James	1		ad
956	Canonmills	Gudail	Andro	1		ad
957	Canonmills	Haistie	Johne	1		ylb
958	Canonmills	Broun	Jonet	1		lb
959	Canonmills	Hall	James	2		ad
960	Canonmills	Burne	Mart	1		lb
961	Canonmills	Borthuik	Mart	1		-
962	Canonmills	Corsh	William	2		ad
963	Canonmills	Hodgr	Jonet	1		ad
964	Canonmills	Wod	Johne	2		-
965	Canonmills	Young	Marion	1		ad
966	Canonmills	Alane	Marjorie	2	seik	-
967	Canonmills	Murdoche	Nicoll	1		-
968	Canonmills	Craig	George	1		-
969	Canonmills	Ungat	Marion	2		lb
970	Canonmills	Forrest	Richard	2		ad
971	Canonmills	Meill	Agnes	1		ad
972	Canonmills	Forrest	Alisone	1		ylb
973	Canonmills	Ritcheson	Alisone	2		-
974	Canonmills	Wilson	Issobell	1		ad
975	Canonmills	Wilson	James	2		ad
976	Canonmills	More	Jonet	1		ad
977	Canonmills	Young	Rot.	2		lb
978	Canonmills	Jeane ←	Blak	1	c.n.	lb
979	Canonmills	Wilson	Thomas	2		ad
980	Canonmills	Stewart	Agnes	1		ad
981	Canonmills	Wilson	Marion	1		ylb
982	Canonmills	Wilson	Katheren	2		-
983	Canonmills	Savage	Jonet	1	rupprts	sisl
984	Canonmills	Issobell ↔	Savage	1		-
985	Canonmills	McCrayl	Archibal	2	younger	lb
986	Canonmills	Sellers	Jonet	1		ad
987	Canonmills	Cairns	John	2		-
988	Canonmills	Bursoun	Janet	1	get	l
989	Canonmills	Cormak	Alexr	2		ad
990	Canonmills	Easseine	Agnes	1		ad
991	Canonmills	Young	William	1		ad
992	Canonmills	Broun	Johne	2	wobs	ad
993	Canonmills	Broun	Bessie	1		ad
994	Canonmills	Matheson	Elspet	2		ad
995	Canonmills	Law	Johne	1		ad
996	Canonmills	Broun	William	2		ad
997	Canonmills	Cuthbertso	Issobell	1		lb
998	Canonmills	Wilson	Agnes	1		-
999	Canonmills	McKnol	Jonet	2		lb
1000	Canonmills	Gray	George	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1001 Canonmills	Gray	Janet	1	seiklie	-
1002 Canonmills	Ogilvie	James	2	afeild	-
1003 Canonmills	Thomson	Janet	1		-
1004 Canonmills	Alexander	Johne	2		-
1005 Canonmills	McCrayl	Mart	1		lb
1006 Canonmills	Layng	Thomas	2	afeild	-
1007 Canonmills	Mccaskie	Rot.	2		ad
1008 Canonmills	Glesgow	Issobell	1		ad
1009 Canonmills	Cunningham	Katherie	1		l
1010 Canonmills	Wilson	Johne	2		lb
1011 Canonmills	Smietoun	Beatrix	1		lb
1012 Canonmills	Wilson	Issobell	2	get	lb
1013 Canonmills	Mure	James	2		ib
1014 Canonmills	Smietoun	Cristian	1	c.n.	lb
1015 Canonmills	Turnbill	George	2		-
1016 Canonmills	Hislope	Marion	1		lb
1017 Canonmills	Craw	James	2		ad
1018 Canonmills	Inglis	Alisoune	1	seik	-
1019 Canonmills	Lyell	Thomas	1	seik	-
1020 Canonmills	Gray	Mart	1	get	l
1021 Canonmills	Mortoun	George	2	seik	lb
1022 Canonmills	Fultoun	Mart	1		-
1023 Canonmills	Mortoun	Jonet	1		-
1024 Canonmills	Rowane	William	2		ad
1025 Canonmills	Mure	Agnes	1	c.n.	l
1026 Canonmills	Wilson	Alexr	2		ad
1027 Canonmills	Porteous	Jonet	1		ad
1028 Canonmills	Wilson	Agnes	1		ad
1029 Canonmills	Alexander	Kat.	1		ad
1030 Canonmills	Jack	Mart	1	vagabond	l
1031 Canonmills	Hay	Patrik	2	afieild	-
1032 Canonmills	Law	Jonet	1		ad
1033 Canonmills	Mow	Johne	2		-
1034 Canonmills	Jack	Issobell	1		lb
1035 Canonmills	Crawfurd	Marion	1		ad
1036 Canonmills	Adamson	Katheren	2	unhabit	-
1037 Canonmills	M'shell	Issobell	1		ad
1038 Canonmills	Wod	Issobell	1		ad
1039 Canonmills	Schort	Agnes	2		ad
1040 Canonmills	Grimton	Mart	1		lb
1041 Canonmills	Matheson	Johne	2		ad
1042 Canonmills	Ra'nalie	Elspet	1		lb
1043 Canonmills	Brewendene	Marion	2	unhabitt	-
1044 Canonmills	Sietoun	Mart	1		ad
1045 Canonmills	Lowrie	James	2		l
1046 Canonmills	Henryson	Bessie	1		ad
1047 Canonmills	Gibsoune	Jonet	1		lb
1048 Canonmills	Ker	James	2		ad
1049 Canonmills	Henryson	Bessie	1		ad
1050 Canonmills	Erskene	Agnes	2	seik	-

APPENDIX FOUR

location	surname	forename	tenet	desigtn	note
1051 Canonmills	Drysdail	Rot.	1		ad
1052 Canonmills	Craw	Kat.	1		ad
1053 Canonmills	Craw	Helene	1	ad	0
1054 Canonmills	Crawfurd	Johne	2		ad
1055 Canonmills	Ritchieson	Mart	1	seik	-
1056 Canonmills	Gairdner	Mart	2		ad
1057 Canonmills	Henryson	John	1		ad
1058 Canonmills	Henryson	Jonet	1		ad
1059 Canonmills	Mathieson	Rot.	1		ad
1060 Canonmills	Grinlay	Crystian	1		ad
1061 Canonmills	Gordoun	James	2		-
1062 Canonmills	Fraser	Jeane	1		-
1063 Canonmills	Smetoun	James	2		ad
1064 Canonmills	Yeman	Issobell	1		ad
1065 Canonmills	Symson	Peter	2		ad
1066 Canonmills	Herper	Mart	1		lb
1067 Canonmills	Symson	Patrik	1		ad
1068 Canonmills	Symson	Kat.	1		ad
1069 Canonmills	Symson	Jonet	1		ad
1070 Canonmills	Gray	Jonat	1		yt.
1071 Canonmills	Broun	Helene	1		ylb
1072 Canonmills	Sandie	Thomas	2		ad
1073 Canonmills	Marteine	Mart	1		ad
1074 Canonmills	Corsh	Alexande	2		ad
1075 Canonmills	Symson	Agnes	1		ad
1076 Canonmills	Corsh	William	1		ad
1077 Canonmills	Liddell	Jonet	1		ylb
1078 Canonmills	Miller	Johne	2	c.n.	lb
1079 Canonmills	Glesfurd	Marjorie	1	c.n.	lb
1080 Canonmills	Miller	Mart	1		ad
1081 Canonmills	Bellendene	Johne	2		ad
1082 Canonmills	Selkirk	Agnes	1		-
1083 Canonmills	Young	Kat	2		-
1084 Canonmills	Stevinson	Thomas	1		-
1085 Canonmills	Ballendene	Sara	1		ad
1086 Canonmills	Marshell	Johne	1		ad
1087 Canonmills	Tod	Mart	1		ylb
1088 Canonmills	Sinclair	William	2		ad
1089 Canonmills	Lyell	Mart	1		-
1090 Canonmills	Tod	James	1	get	-
1091 Canonmills	Phinnie	Patrik	1		ad
1092 Canonmills	Alexander	Thomas	1		ad
1093 Canonmills	Read	Jonet	1		ad
1094 Canonmills	Duff	Janet	1		ad
1095 Canonmills	Tod	Thomas	1		ad
1096 Stokbridge	Marr	James	2	29&30 March	ad
1097 Stokbridge	Hodge	Elspet	1		ad
1098 Stokbridge	Patoun	Johne	1		ad
1099 Stokbridge	Burne	Jeane	1		lb
1100 Stokbridge	Gairdner	Jonet	1		yt

APPENDIX FOUR

location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1101 Stokbridge	Cock	James	1		-
1102 Silvermylne	Gillespie	William	2	seik	-
1103 Silvermylne	Trumbill	Cristian	1	seik	-
1104 Silvermylne	Alane	William	2		lb
1105 Silvermylne	Galbrayt	Marion	1		ad
1106 Silvermylne	Ritchman	James	2		lb
1107 Silvermylne	Bradie	Bessie	1	seik	ad
1108 Silvermylne	Bowland	Alane	2		ad
1109 Silvermylne	Bennet	Bessie	1		ad
1110 Silvermylne	Cowland	William	1		ad
1111 Silvermylne	Lamby	Jonet	1		ylb.
1112 Silvermylne	Borthuik	Katheren	2	seik	-
1113 Silvermylne	Paterson	Thomas	1		lb
1114 Silvermylne	McClare	Jonet	1		lb
1115 Silvermylne	Fraser	Beatrice	1	get	1
1116 Silvermylne	Thomson	Gilbert	2		ad
1117 Silvermylne	Halyday	Issobell	1		ad
1118 Silvermylne	Hope	Sibbella	1		ylb
1119 Bonitoun Mill	Watson	Johne	2		-
1120 Bonitoun Mill	Thomson	Marion	1	c.n.	-
1121 Bonitoun Mill	Cokburne	William	1		11
1122 Bonitoun Mill	Paterson	Helena	1	get	1
1123 Bonitoun Mill	Arnott	Mart	1		1
1124 Bonitoun Mill	Linlythgow	William	1		1
1125 Bonitoun Mill	Duncan	James	2		-
1126 Bonitoun Mill	Duncan	Jeane	1		-
1127 Bonitoun Mill	Duncan	James	1		ad
1128 Bonitoun Mill	Twydie	James	1		lb
1129 Bonitoun Mill	Murray	Bessie	1		ad
1130 Bonitoun Mill	Broun	Jeane	1		-
1131 Bonitoun Mill	Leashris	Robert	2		ad
1132 Bonitoun Mill	Young	Katheren	1	seik	-
1133 Bonitoun Mill	Haigs	James	1	seik	ad
1134 Bonitoun Mill	Cleghorne	George	1		ad
1135 Bonitoun Mill	Rodger	James	1		1
1136 Bonitoun Mill	Shanzie	Helene	1		lb
1137 Bonitoun Mill	Jonston	F[io]nar	1		-
1138 Bonitoun Mill	Leashris	Johne	2		ad
1139 Bonitoun Mill	Cleghorne	Jeane	1		ad
1140 Bonitoun Mill	Mathue	James	1		ad
1141 Bonitoun Mill	Haigs	Johne	1		ad
1142 Bonitoun Mill	Cleghorne	Rot.	1		-
1143 Bonitoun Mill	Forrester	Mart	1		ad
1144 Bonitoun Mill	Tod	Marion	1		ad
1145 Warieston	Kincaid	Thomas	2		-
1146 Warieston	Cokburne	Rot.	1		-
1147 Warieston	Galloway	George	1		-
1148 Warieston	Mos[r]e	Patrik	1		-
1149 Warieston	Marshall	George	1		ad
1150 Warieston	Janet	←→ Orkney	1		-

APPENDIX FOUR

location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1151 Warieston	Finlayson	William	2		ad
1152 Warieston	Caveris	Helene	1		ad
1153 Warieston	Robeson	Jonet	1		-
1154 Warieston	Ra'nald	Johne	2		ad
1155 Warieston	Bennet	Issobell	1		ad
1156 Warieston	Miller	William	1		-
1157 Warieston	Katherine	Alane	1	get	-
1158 Weirdne	Tour[is]	Sir Alex	2		-
1159 Weirdne	Weymes	Dame. Jea	1		-
1160 Weirdne	Grahame	Johne	1		ad
1161 Weirdne	Duncan	Marjorie	1		ad
1162 Weirdne	Cungingham	Andro	1		ad
1163 Weirdne	Thorntoun	Charles	1		lb
1164 Weirdne	Drummond	William	1		1
1165 Weirdne	Weymes	Mart	1		-
1166 Weirdne	Gurlay	James	1		ad
1167 Weirdne	Hodge	Thomas	1		lb
1168 Weirdne	Jonston	Patrik	1		-
1169 Weirdne	Rutherford	John	1		-
1170 Weirdne	Blak	William	2		-
1171 Weirdne	Thomson	Helene	1		-
1172 Weirdne	Forgie	James	1		ad
1173 Weirdne	Blak	Elspet	1		yt
1174 Weirdne	Levingston	Jeane	1		-
1175 Weirdne	P[o]rter	Johne	2	seik	-
1176 Weirdne	Beersheba	Ramsay	1		-
1177 Weirdne	James	Vassie	1		ad
1178 Weirdne	Alison	Ramsay	1		lb
1179 Weirdne	Mayne	Helene	1		lb
1180 Weirdne	P[o]rter	Alexr	1		-
1181 Weirdne	Robeson	Johne	2		-
1182 Weirdne	Stevin	Cristian	1		-
1183 Weirdne	Lyndesay	Thomas	2		-
1184 Weirdne	Hunter	Agnes	1		-
1185 Weirdne	Melvill	Alexr	2		-
1186 Weirdne	Lawson	kAtheren	1		-
1187 Weirdne	Small	Patrick	1		-
1188 Weirdne	Thomson	Thomas	1		-
1189 Weirdne	Masterton	Rot.	2		-
1190 Weirdne	Ramadge	Mart	1	seik	-
1191 Weirdne	Greg	Johne	2		-
1192 Weirdne	Brand	Ewphame	1		-
1193 Weirdne	Murray	Richard	2		1
1194 Weirdne	Boig	Mart	1		-
1195 Weirdne	Bull	Johne	2		ad
1196 Weirdne	Dickson	Helen	1		ad
1197 Weirdne	Hall	Johne	2		-
1198 Weirdne	Gichen	Issobell	1	seik	-
1199 Weirdne	Mckinlay	Marion	1		-
1200 Weirdne	Clerk	Alexr	2		-

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	designn	note
1201	Weirdne	Hislope	Mart	1		-
1202	Weirdne	Wilsone	James	2		ad
1203	Weirdne	Murray	Jeane	1		-
1204	Weirdne	Lowdoun	James	2		-
1205	Weirdne	Hog	Katheren	1		-
1206	Weirdne	Walker	Johne	2		-
1207	Weirdne	Logain	Mart	1		-
1208	Weirdne	Park	John	1		-
1209	Weirdne	Logan	Malcolme	2		-
1210	Weirdne	Finlasone	Jonet	1	pois	-
1211	Weirdne	Bran[k]	Johne	2		-
1212	Weirdne	Strauchen	Patrik	2	res	-
1213	Weirdne	Alane	Mart	1		-
1214	Weirdne	Charteris	Archibal	2		-
1215	Weirdne	Savadge	Marion	1		-
1216	Weirdne	Anderson	William	2		-
1217	Weirdne	Purdie	Mart	1		-
1218	Weirdne	Wryt	Andro	2		-
1219	Weirdne	Boig	William	1		-
1220	Weirdne	Fairlie	Elspet	1		-
1221	Weirdne	Dicksone	William	1		ad
1222	Weirdne	McMirrie	Jonet	1		ad
1223	Weirdne	Cuninghame	Thomas	1	get	-
1224	Weirdne	Stevinsoun	James	1		-
1225	Weirdne	Wilsoun	Margt	1		-
1226	Weirdne	Hamiltoun	Helene	1		-
1227	Windiestrалеavis	Cleghorne	David	2		ad
1228	Windiestrалеavis	Johnson	Jeane	1		-
1229	Windiestrалеavis	Lauder	Robert	1	get	0
1230	Windiestrалеavis	Cumming	Henrie	1		1
1231	Windiestrалеavis	Murray	Isobell	1		1
1232	Innerleyt	Dowgals	William	2	greve	-
1233	Innerleyt	Broun	Johnne	1		-
1234	Innerleyt	Burne	Janet	1		-
1235	Innerleyt	Burne	Thomas	1		ad
1236	Innerleyt	Ferguson	John	1		-
1237	Innerleyt	Blakie	James	1		ad
1238	Innerleyt	Hair	Mart	1		ad
1239	Innerleyt	Small	Mart	1	o.n.	-
1240	Innerleyt	Hunter	Johne	2	get	-
1241	Innerleyt	Gilleis	Cristian	1		lb
1242	Innerleyt	Ritchieson	William	1		1
1243	Innerleyt	Gillespie	Jonet	1		lb
1244	Innerleyt	Bathcat	Gilbert	2	get	0
1245	Innerleyt	Jonson	Elspet	1		-
1246	Innerleyt	Symson	Alexr	2		ad
1247	Innerleyt	Alexander	Agnes	1		-
1248	Innerleyt	Symson	James	1		ad
1249	Innerleyt	Symson	Katerene	1		ad
1250	Innerleyt	Symson	Issobell	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1251	Innerleyt	Fairbairne	William	1		ad
1252	Innerleyt	Duncan	William	1		-
1253	Innerleyt	Buckill	Rot.	1		ad
1254	Innerleyt	Buckill	William	1		ad
1255	Innerleyt	Paterson	Alexr	1		ad
1256	Innerleyt	Young	Rot.	1	prof[scl]	1
1257	Innerleyt	Fiddes	Johne	1		-
1258	Innerleyt	Cruikshank	William	1		-
1259	Innerleyt	Russell	George	2	get	1
1260	Innerleyt	Weir	Janet	1		ad
1261	Innerleyt	Boig	Jonet	1		ad
1262	Innerleyt	Bruce	Jonet	1	get	-
1263	Innerleyt	Hunter	Mart	1		ad
1264	Innerleyt	Wod	Robert	2		ad
1265	Innerleyt	36220	Marion	1		ad
1266	Innerleyt	Wod	John	1		ad
1267	Innerleyt	Clerk	James	1		ad
1268	Innerleyt	Edmonds	Rot.	1		ad
1269	Innerleyt	Yuill	William	1		ylb
1270	Innerleyt	Bell	Cristian	1		ad
1271	Innerleyt	Grub	Mart	1		-
1272	Innerleyt	Galbrayt	Johne	1		ad
1273	Innerleyt	Methven	Bessie	1	seik	-
1274	Innerleyt	Lochie	Jeane	1		ad
1275	Innerleyt	Davidsons	William	1		1
1276	Innerleyt	Hislope	Issobell	1	seik	-
1277	Innerleyt	Nicoll	Marion	1		-
1278	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Young	Thomas	2	unhabitt
1279	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Cowdony	Elspe	1	-
1280	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Young	George	1	yl
1281	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Hodge	Johne	1	ad
1282	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Alane	Thomas	1	ad
1283	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Pacok	Rot.	1	ad
1284	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Rodger	Thomas	1	ad
1285	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Scott	Patrik	1	ad
1286	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Dundas	George	1	yl
1287	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Listoun	George	1	ad
1288	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Marshall	William	1	ad
1289	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Tailzeph	Agnes	1	ad
1290	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Andersone	Mart	1	ad
1291	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Congiltoun	Janet	1	ad
1292	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Wilsone	Jonet	1	ad
1293	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Craig	Mart	1	1
1294	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Keir	Nicoll	2	ad
1295	Craig[tun.]	Leyt	Patten	Helene	1	ad
1296	Ravieston		Steill	Alexr	2	ad
1297	Ravieston		Pacok	Agnes	1	ad
1298	Ravieston		Steill	Johne	1	ad
1299	Ravieston		Bauchope	Thomas	1	ad
1300	Ravieston		Scott	Thomas	1	get ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1301	Ravieston	Donaldson	Jon	1		ad
1302	Ravieston	Dawling	James	1	get	-
1303	Ravieston	Spence	Jon	1		ad
1304	Ravieston	Or	William	1		-
1305	Ravieston	Thomson	Johne	2		ad
1306	Ravieston	Spence	Thomas	1		-
1307	Ravieston	Russell	William	1		ad
1308	Ravieston	Steill	Issobell	1		ad
1309	Ravieston	Gurlay	Agnes	1		-
1310	Ravieston	Gibsone	Bessie	1		lb
1311	Ravieston	Steill	Crisrian	1		y
1312	Ravieston	Gibsone	Robert	2		ad
1313	Ravieston	Porteous	Katheren	1		ad
1314	Ravieston	Nisbit	Johne	2		ad
1315	Ravieston	Jonson	Mart	1		ad
1316	Ravieston	Purves	Johne	2		ad
1317	Ravieston	Buckill	Elspe	1		ad
1318	Ravieston	Fluker	James	2		ad
1319	Ravieston	Gray	Marion	1		-
1320	Ravieston	Taytt	Johne	2		ad
1321	Ravieston	Taytt	Jonet	1		ad
1322	Deane	Nisbet	Sir Will	2		-
1323	Deane	Young	Johne	1		-
1324	Deane	Young	Thomas	1		ad
1325	Deane	Cockburne	Mathow	1		ad
1326	Deane	Wilson	William	1		ad
1327	Deane	Weir	Mart	1		-
1328	Deane	Hamilton	Mart	1		ad
1329	Deane	Ker	Agnes	1		ad
1330	Deane	S[in]eberi	Mart	2	seik	ad
1331	Deane	Bell	Johne	1		ad
1332	Deane	Nisbit	Bessie	1		ad
1333	Deane	Bell	James	1		ad
1334	Deane	Bell	Jonet	1		ad
1335	Deane	Bell	Rot.	1		ad
1336	Deane	Hill	David	1		ad
1337	Deane	Napier	Alexr	1		ad
1338	Deane	Wod	William	1		ad
1339	Deane	Savadge	William	1		ad
1340	Deane	Erskene	Mart	1		ad
1341	Deane	Lawtie	Jeane	1		ad
1342	Deane	Buckill	Alexr	1		-
1343	Deane	Crystieson	Johne	2		ad
1344	Deane	Ingram	Jonet	1		ad
1345	Deane	Crystieson	Janet	1		ad
1346	Deane	Gillies	Peter	1		ad
1347	Deane	Young	Stevin	1		lb
1348	Deane	M[orsie]	Johne	1		ad
1349	Deane	M[orsie]	Jonet	1		ad
1350	Deane	Younger	Marion	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	designn	note
1351	Deane	Gray	James	2		ad
1352	Deane	Anderson	Jonet	1		ad
1353	Deane	Hamilton	Agnes	1		lb
1354	Deane	Lapstei	William	2		ad
1355	Deane	Barten	Ewphame	1		-
1356	Deane	Elder	Alexr	2		ad
1357	Deane	Stalker	Issobell	1		-
1358	Deane	Wilson	Patrik	1		ad
1359	Deane	Cowis	Johne	1		ad
1360	Deane	Adamson	Richard	1		ad
1361	Deane	Hangitsyd	Jon	1		ll
1362	Deane	Gilcryst	Archd.	1		ad
1363	Deane	Henryson	William	1		-
1364	Deane	Liston	Mart	1		ad
1365	Deane	Alane	Elspet	1		ad
1366	Deane	Jackson	Jeane	1		ad
1367	Deane	Walker	Issobell	1		ylt
1368	Deane	Watson	Alison	2		ad
1369	Deane	Bell	Sussanna	1		ad
1370	Deane	Bell	William	1		ad
1371	Deane	Ma'miell	Johne	2		ad
1372	Deane	Morison	Elizabet	1		ad
1373	Deane	Mowbray	Thomas	2		ad
1374	Deane	Logan	Janet	1		ad
1375	Deane	Aitkin	Jonet	1		ad
1376	Deane	Adamson	Agnes	2		ad
1377	Deane	Thomson	Johne	2		ad
1378	Deane	Bros	Mart	1		ad
1379	Deane	Clermistou	Janet	1		ylb
1380	Deane	Porteous	Robert	2		ad
1381	Deane	Watterson	Agnes	1		ad
1382	Deane	Aikman	Alexr	2		ad
1383	Deane	Aikman	Issobell	1		ad
1384	Deane	Thomson	Adame	2		ad
1385	Deane	Broun	Agnes	1		ad
1386	Deane	Thomson	Grissell	1		ylb
1387	Deane	Mcgie	Marion	1		ad
1388	Deane	Currie	William	2		ad
1389	Deane	Hacker	Agnes	1		ad
1390	Deane	Currie	Helene	1		ad
1391	Deane	Currie	James	1		ylb
1392	Deane	Bell	Bessie	2		ad
1393	Deane	Young	George	2		ad
1394	Deane	Heriott	Issobell	1		ad
1395	Deane	Young	Issobell	1		ylb
1396	Deane	Cuninghame	James	1		lb.
1397	Deane	Gillies	Elspet	1		ad
1398	Deane	Cuninghame	Johne	1	prot sak	ad
1399	Deane	Cuninghame	Mart	1		ad
1400	Deane	Winra..	Rot.	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1401 Deane	Morison	Mart	1		ad
1402 Deane	Haddowie	James	1		ad
1403 Deane	Pedder	William	1	get	-
1404 Deane	Scheil	Johne	1		ad
1405 Deane	Pirie	Marjorie	1		ad
1406 Deane	Curlaw	Mart	1	seik	-
1407 Deane	Tod	Jeane	1		ad
1408 Deane	Pirie	Johne	2		ad
1409 Deane	Bryce	Jonate	1		ad
1410 Deane	Pirie	Johne	1		ad
1411 Deane	Forrest	Rot	1		lb
1412 Deane	Quhyt	James	1		ad
1413 Deane	Wilson	Walter	1		ad
1414 Deane	Bowie	Johne	1		ad
1415 Deane	Gibb	Thomas	1		ad
1416 Deane	Baillie	Bessie	1		ad
1417 Deane	Wryt	Janet	1		ad
1418 Deane	Stratherne	Johne	2		ad
1419 Deane	Gairdner	Kat.	1		ad
1420 Deane	Nimok	Helene	1		-
1421 Deane	Archibald	Michael	1		ad
1422 Deane	Archibald	Janet	1		ad
1423 Deane	Bruntfield	William	1	get	l
1424 Deane	Liddell	Alexr	1		-
1425 Deane	Smaill	Andro	1		ad
1426 Deane	Porteous	Mart	1		ad
1427 Deane	Gibb	George	2		lb
1428 Deane	Calder	Agnes	1	lyand	ad
1429 Deane	Bane	Johne	2		ad
1430 Deane	Wilkie	Issobell	1		ad
1431 Deane	Wilson	John	2		ad
1432 Deane	Cuik	Mart	1		ad
1433 Deane	Liddell	Alexr	2		ad
1434 Deane	Hunter	Issobell	1		ad
1435 Deane	Anderson	James	1		ad
1436 Deane	Weir	Marion	2		ad
1437 Deane	Wod	Agnes	1		ad
1438 Deane	Porteous	William	2		ad
1439 Deane	Mitchell	Jonet	1		ad
1440 Deane	Mitchell	Marion	1		ad
1441 Deane	Cleghorne	Thomas	2		ad
1442 Deane	Scheil	Mart	1		ad
1443 Deane	Aitkin	Mos[ie]	1		lb
1444 Deane	Wilson	James	1		-
1445 Deane	Williamson	James	1		ad
1446 Deane	Nimok	Johne	1		-
1447 Deane	Wauchope	Florence	1	p sab	lb
1448 Deane	Scheil	Jonet	1		ad
1449 Deane	Anderson	Bessie	1		ad
1450 Deane	Wast	Agnes	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	designn	note
1451	Deane	Thorbrand	Bessie	2		ad
1452	Deane	Thomson	Johne	1	pro.sab	ad
1453	Deane	Dunlop	Thomas	2		ad
1454	Deane	Chalmers	Janet	1		ad
1455	Deane	Grinlay	Marion	2		ad
1456	Deane	Savadge	Mart	1		ylb
1457	Deane	Nimok	James	2		ad
1458	Deane	Edglie	Elspet	1		ad
1459	Deane	Mortoun	James	2		ad
1460	Deane	Gray	Mart	1		ad
1461	Deane	Robeson	Katheren	2		l
1462	Deane	Edglie	Katheren	1		ad
1463	Deane	Pirie	William	2		ad
1464	Deane	Hill	Issobell	1		ad
1465	Deane	Balquharna	Helene	1		ad
1466	Deane	Wilkie	Thomas	2	get	-
1467	Deane	Napeir	Jonet	1		-
1468	Deane	Brickill	Mongow	2		ad
1469	Deane	Thomson	Helene	1		ad
1470	Deane	Brickill	Grissell	1		ad
1471	Deane	Bell	Walter	2		ad
1472	Deane	Bell	Katheren	1		ad
1473	Deane	Gudlet	Johne	2		ad
1474	Deane	Davie	Agnes	1		ad
1475	Deane	Gudlet	Marjorie	1		ylb
1476	Deane	Ross	Andro	2		ad
1477	Deane	Wryt	Agnes	1		ad
1478	Deane	Ross	Robert	1		ad
1479	Watter Leyt	Aikman	Johne	2		ad
1480	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Marion	1		ad
1481	Watter Leyt	Elphinston	Marjorie	1	seiklie	-
1482	Watter Leyt	Marshall	Agnes	1		ad
1483	Watter Leyt	Jemisone	Issobell	1		ad
1484	Watter Leyt	Archibald	Henry	2		ad
1485	Watter Leyt	Winrame	Katheren	1		ad
1486	Watter Leyt	Chyld	Andro	1		ad
1487	Watter Leyt	Winrame	Gilbert	2		ad
1488	Watter Leyt	Gray	Bessie	1		-
1489	Watter Leyt	Scharpe	Helene	2		ad
1490	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Issobell	1		ad
1491	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Jonet	1		ad
1492	Watter Leyt	Bauld	Lilias	1		ad
1493	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Gawin	2		ad
1494	Watter Leyt	Dowgall	Jonet	1		ad
1495	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Magdalen	1		ad
1496	Watter Leyt	Corstoun	Mart	1		ad
1497	Watter Leyt	Read	Andro	2		ad
1498	Watter Leyt	Lessis	Elspet	1		ad
1499	Watter Leyt	Anderson	Mart	1		lb
1500	Watter Leyt	Nicoll	Barbara	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	designn	note
1501	Watter Leyt	Read	Jonet	2		ad
1502	Watter Leyt	Lokhart	Janet	1		ad
1503	Watter Leyt	Lokhart	Helene	1		ad
1504	Watter Leyt	Lockhart	Mart	1		ylb
1505	Watter Leyt	Lorimer	Walter	2	seik	-
1506	Watter Leyt	Twydie	Jonet	1		ad
1507	Watter Leyt	King	James	1		lb
1508	Watter Leyt	McKnob	Cristian	1		-
1509	Watter Leyt	King	Johne	1		l
1510	Watter Leyt	Murray	Thomas	2		lb
1511	Watter Leyt	Ralf	Mart	1		lb
1512	Watter Leyt	Mckie	Abacuk.	2		-
1513	Watter Leyt	Jonston	Jonet	1		-
1514	Watter Leyt	Mckie	Janet	1		ly
1515	Watter Leyt	Gordoun	Rot.	1		ad
1516	Watter Leyt	Kay	Agnes	1		ad
1517	Watter Leyt	Anderson	Adame	2		ad
1518	Watter Leyt	Matheson	Barbara	1	lyand	lb
1519	Watter Leyt	Purdie	Janet	1		ad
1520	Watter Leyt	Thomson	Johne	2		ad
1521	Watter Leyt	Cochrane	Marion	1		ad
1522	Watter Leyt	Thomson	Clement	1		lb
1523	Watter Leyt	Anderson	Marion	1		ad
1524	Watter Leyt	Anderson	James	2		lb
1525	Watter Leyt	Wallace	Agnes	1	c.n.	lb
1526	Watter Leyt	Anderson	Alexr	1		ylb
1527	Watter Leyt	Lowrie	James	2		ad
1528	Watter Leyt	Crystieson	Kat.	1		ad
1529	Watter Leyt	Anderson	James	2		ad
1530	Watter Leyt	Frame	Bessie	1		ad
1531	Watter Leyt	Flemmyng	Walter	2		ad
1532	Watter Leyt	Landells	Beigs	1		ad
1533	Watter Leyt	Flemmyng	Jon	1		ad
1534	Watter Leyt	loche	Bessie	1		ad
1535	Watter Leyt	Cuninghame	Adame	2		ad
1536	Watter Leyt	Cuninghame	Issobell	1		ad
1537	Watter Leyt	Wilson	Johne	2		ad
1538	Watter Leyt	Hardie	Katherine	1		ad
1539	Watter Leyt	Gordoun	Johne	2		ad
1540	Watter Leyt	Gordoun	Clement	1		yt
1541	Watter Leyt	Gordoun	Robert	1		ad
1542	Watter Leyt	Ochiltrie	Florie	1		ad
1543	Watter Leyt	Blakie	Marion	1		ad
1544	Watter Leyt	Paterson	Alexander	2		lb
1545	Watter Leyt	Layng	Mart	1		ad
1546	Watter Leyt	Lochie	Bessie	1		lb
1547	Watter Leyt	Cu'lok	Johne	2		ad
1548	Watter Leyt	Scott	Jeane	1		l
1549	Watter Leyt	Henryson	ArchiBbal	1		ad
1550	Watter Leyt	Leitche	Thomas	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	desigtn	note
1551	Watter Leyt	Walls	Jonet	1		ad
1552	Watter Leyt	Archibald	James	2		ad
1553	Watter Leyt	Dobie	Marion	1		1
1554	Watter Leyt	Stewart	James	2		ad
1555	Watter Leyt	Winrame	Jeane	1		ad
1556	Watter Leyt	Stewart	Walter	1		ad
1557	Watter Leyt	Stewart	Henrie	1		ad
1558	Watter Leyt	Stevinsone	Andro	2		ad
1559	Watter Leyt	Bowmaker	Mart	1		lb
1560	Watter Leyt	Cooke	Alexr	2		ad
1561	Watter Leyt	Jonson	Katherene	1		lb
1562	Watter Leyt	Wilson	Paull	2		ad
1563	Watter Leyt	Wilson	Jonet	1		ad
1564	Watter Leyt	Corson	Alexr	2		-
1565	Watter Leyt	Ranald	Issobell	1		-
1566	Watter Leyt	Pollok	Gawin	2		ad
1567	Watter Leyt	Gray	Janet	1		ad
1568	Watter Leyt	Wilsone	Mathow	1		ad
1569	Watter Leyt	Syme	Agnes	1		ad
1570	Watter Leyt	Stevinson	Alexr	2		ad
1571	Watter Leyt	Shorteous	Cristian	1		ad
1572	Watter Leyt	Henryson	Thomas	2		ad
1573	Watter Leyt	Young	Mart	1		ad
1574	Watter Leyt	Henryson	Jeane	1		yt
1575	Watter Leyt	Phinnie	David	2		ad
1576	Watter Leyt	Tailzour	Mart	1		ad
1577	Watter Leyt	Low..	James	2		ad
1578	Watter Leyt	Bartilmo	Agnes	1		ad
1579	Watter Leyt	Spittell	Issobell	1		ad
1580	Watter Leyt	Struthers	Jeane	2		lb
1581	Watter Leyt	McLysone	William	2		ad
1582	Watter Leyt	Raithe	Jeane	1		lb
1583	Watter Leyt	Gray	Johne	2		ad
1584	Watter Leyt	King	Jonet	1		ad
1585	Watter Leyt	Kermoché	Thomas	2		ad
1586	Watter Leyt	Bruntfield	Agnes	1		ad
1587	Watter Leyt	Bruntfield	Jeane	1		ad
1588	Watter Leyt	Grub	Alexr	2		ad
1589	Watter Leyt	Inkpene	Mart	1		-
1590	Watter Leyt	Spence	Johne	2	seik	-
1591	Watter Leyt	Lowrie	Agnes	1		lb
1592	Watter Leyt	Boyd	Cristian	2		ad
1593	Watter Leyt	Miller	Harie	2		ad
1594	Watter Leyt	Propheit	Helene	1		ad
1595	Watter Leyt	Kay	James	2	bigger	ad
1596	Watter Leyt	Jonet	Kier	1		ad
1597	Watter Leyt	Haddowie	Johne	2		-
1598	Watter Leyt	Holme	Elspet	1		ad
1599	Watter Leyt	Bull	Patrik	2		-
1600	Watter Leyt	Mckie	Issobell	1	c.n.	ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	desigtn	note
1601	Watter Leyt	Mckie	Jonet	1		-
1602	Watter Leyt	Bull	Mart	1		ylb
1603	Watter Leyt	Meveing	Issobell	2		ad
1604	Watter Leyt	Meveing	Mart	1		yl
1605	Watter Leyt	Borthuik	Andro	2		ad
1606	Watter Leyt	Paterson	James	2	19&20 Apr	ad
1607	Watter Leyt	Blakie	Jonet	1		ad
1608	Watter Leyt	Burne	Helene	1		l
1609	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Andro	2		ad
1610	Watter Leyt	Boyd	Cristian	1		ad
1611	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Jonet	1		ad
1612	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Agnes	1		ad
1613	Watter Leyt	Alane	Marjorie	2		ad
1614	Watter Leyt	Pursell	Issobell	1		ylb
1615	Watter Leyt	Alane	Katheren	1		ad
1616	Watter Leyt	Adamson	Thomas	2		ad
1617	Watter Leyt	Anderson	Bessie	1		ad
1618	Watter Leyt	Campbell	Janet	1		yl
1619	Watter Leyt	Neilson	Jonet	2		ad
1620	Watter Leyt	Hunter	Thomas	1		ad
1621	Watter Leyt	Hunter	Jonet	1		ad
1622	Watter Leyt	Hunter	Agnes	1		ad
1623	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Thomas	1		yl
1624	Watter Leyt	Boyd	Katheren	1	dumb	l
1625	Watter Leyt	Brounlie	James	2		ad
1626	Watter Leyt	Chyld	Mart	1		ad
1627	Watter Leyt	Herper	Rot.	2	afield	ad
1628	Watter Leyt	Symonson	Mart	1		ad
1629	Watter Leyt	Murie	Jeane	1		ad
1630	Watter Leyt	Miller	Janet	1		-
1631	Watter Leyt	Wilkie	Johne	2		ad
1632	Watter Leyt	Strauchen	Elspe	1		ad
1633	Watter Leyt	Wilkie	Mart	1		ad
1634	Watter Leyt	Paislay	James	2		ad
1635	Watter Leyt	Hutoun	Jonet	1		ad
1636	Watter Leyt	McGrow	Mart	1		ad
1637	Watter Leyt	Lyll	Jonet	2		ad
1638	Watter Leyt	Chyld	Jon	1		ad
1639	Watter Leyt	Chyld	James	1		ad
1640	Watter Leyt	Cochran	Edward	2		ad
1641	Watter Leyt	Adamson	Agnes	1		ad
1642	Watter Leyt	Megat	Helene	1		ll
1643	Watter Leyt	Clerk	Peter	2		ad
1644	Watter Leyt	Jonson	Jonet	1		ad
1645	Watter Leyt	Jonson	Cristian	1		ad
1646	Watter Leyt	Mure	Issobell	1	get	l
1647	Watter Leyt	Cleghorne	Johne	2		ad
1648	Watter Leyt	Cleghorne	Agnes	1		ad
1649	Watter Leyt	Cochran	Issobell	1	pois	ad
1650	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Jonet	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1651	Watter Leyt	Lennox	Doratie	1		ad
1652	Watter Leyt	Haddowie	Janet	1		ad
1653	Watter Leyt	Jack	Robert	2		ad
1654	Watter Leyt	Scott	Mart	1		ad
1655	Watter Leyt	Nasmyt	Walter	2		ad
1656	Watter Leyt	Thomson	Helene	1		-
1657	Watter Leyt	Lyndesay	Mart	2		lb
1658	Watter Leyt	Mudie	Rot.	2		ad
1659	Watter Leyt	Jonson	Bessie	1	s[usncl]	-
1660	Watter Leyt	Gibbison	Mart	1		ad
1661	Watter Leyt	Mudie	Edward	2		ad
1662	Watter Leyt	Ross	Grissell	1		ad
1663	Watter Leyt	Alexander	James	1		lb
1664	Watter Leyt	Clerk	Grissell	1		ad
1665	Watter Leyt	Robeson	Thomas	2		ad
1666	Watter Leyt	Hunter	Jonet	1		ad
1667	Watter Leyt	Anderson	Rot	1		ad
1668	Watter Leyt	Davidson	Beatrice	1	get	1
1669	Watter Leyt	Gairden	Mart	2		lb
1670	Watter Leyt	Nicoll	Jonet	2		-
1671	Watter Leyt	Grahame	Jonet	1		ad
1672	Watter Leyt	Small	Jonet	1		ad
1673	Watter Leyt	Cowane	Marjory	1		ad
1674	Watter Leyt	Thomson	James	2		ad
1675	Watter Leyt	Mitchell	Mart	1		ad
1676	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Rot.	2		ad
1677	Watter Leyt	Lyll	Mart	1		ad
1678	Watter Leyt	Porteous	Elspet	1		ad
1679	Watter Leyt	Holme	William	2		ad
1680	Watter Leyt	Currie	Jonet	1		ad
1681	Watter Leyt	Gowdie	Grissell	1		lb
1682	Watter Leyt	Gray	Cristian	2	seik	-
1683	Watter Leyt	Alloway	Jonet	1		ad
1684	Watter Leyt	Davidson	Thomas	2		ad
1685	Watter Leyt	Naper	Elspet	1		ad
1686	Watter Leyt	Purdie	Johne	1		ad
1687	Watter Leyt	Purdie	Katheren	1		ad
1688	Watter Leyt	Gr[iege]	Issobell	1		lb
1689	Watter Leyt	Wilson	Peter	2		ad
1690	Watter Leyt	Young	Jonet	1		ad
1691	Watter Leyt	Wilson	James	2		lb
1692	Watter Leyt	Aikman	Issobell	1		ad
1693	Watter Leyt	Duncan	William	2		ad
1694	Watter Leyt	Neilson	Marion	1		ad
1695	Watter Leyt	Scharpe	Johne	2		ad
1696	Watter Leyt	Crawford	Issobell	1		ad
1697	Watter Leyt	Grub	Andro	2		ad
1698	Watter Leyt	McMariage	Elspet	1		ad
1699	Watter Leyt	Galbrayt	Johne	1		ad
1700	Watter Leyt	Paterson	Katheren	2	n.c.	ly

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1701	Watter Leyt	Miller	Rot.	2		ad
1702	Watter Leyt	Moffet	Helene	1		ad
1703	Watter Leyt	Pollok	Johne	2		ad
1704	Watter Leyt	Younger	Katheren	1		-
1705	Watter Leyt	Lamberg	Jonet	1		ad
1706	Watter Leyt	Kincaid	Issobell	2		-
1707	Watter Leyt	Bell	David	1		ad
1708	Watter Leyt	Dickson	Jonet	1		ad
1709	Watter Leyt	Gurlay	Helene	1		ad
1710	Watter Leyt	Mow	Johne	1		ad
1711	Watter Leyt	Mudie	Johne	2		ad
1712	Watter Leyt	Meikill	Helene	1		ad
1713	Watter Leyt	Aikman	James	2		ad
1714	Watter Leyt	Gibsone	Masie	1		lb
1715	Watter Leyt	Lennox	Richard	2		ad
1716	Watter Leyt	Trotter	Issobell	1	seik	-
1717	Watter Leyt	Haddowie	Hew	1		ad
1718	Watter Leyt	Borthuik	William	2		ad
1719	Watter Leyt	Alexander	Helene	1		ll
1720	Watter Leyt	Clerk	Helene	1		ly
1721	Watter Leyt	Duncan	Marion	2		0
1722	Potteraw (1636)	Nicolson	Patrick	2		ad
1723		Bryssone	Mart	1		ad
1724		Nicolson	Johne	1		ad
1725		Cokburne	Jon	1		ad
1726		Aytoun	William	2		ad
1727		Acheson	Jeane	1		ad
1728		McGie	Patrick	1		-
1729		McGie	Andro	1		-
1730		Cuthbertson	James	1		ad
1731		Veitie	Issobell	1		ad
1732		Rodger	Rot	2		ad
1733		Conon	Jeane	1		ad
1734		Adamson	Rot	1		ad
1735		Spence	Marion	1		-
1736		Howusone	Rot	2		ad
1737		Alane	Mart	1		ad
1738		Pe'phray	Wm	1		ad
1739		Rudalang	Marion	1		ad
1740		Craigie	Katherin	1		l
1741		Ker	George	2		-
1742		Livingtson	Barbara	1		ad
1743		Bell	Lilias	1		ad
1744		Alane	William	2		ad
1745		Bruce	36220	1		ad
1746		Marteine	Johne	2		ad
1747		Renll	Sara	1		ad
1748		Bell	Jonet	2		ad
1749		Wylie	Johne	1		ad
1750		Dunmure	Johne	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1751	Johnston	Grissell	1		ad
1752	Grahame	Charles	1		ad
1753	Dunmure	Jeane	1		y
1754	Futh[i]e	David	2		ad
1755	Wilkie	Katherin	1		ad
1756	Baitl[i]e	David	1		l
1757	36220	Johne	1		-
1758	Erskene	Jonet	1		yl
1759	Bryce	Johne	2		ad
1760	Rotson	Jeane	1		ad
1761	Bryce	William	1		ad
1762	Raltoun	James	1		ad
1763	Bryce	Agnes	1		lb
1764	Cuming	George	2		ad
1765	Reid	Jamis	1		lb
1766	Giwand	Jeane	1		ad
1767	Forrester	Johne	2		ad
1768	Farsyth	Marion	1		ad
1769	Reid	Robert	1		ad
1770	Richison	Janet	1		ad
1771	Alconar	Robert	1		ad
1772	Scot	Rachell	2		-
1773	Scot	Elizabeth	1		ad
1774	Lawson	Andro	2		-
1775	Lawson	Margt	1		ad
1776	Finnie	Janet	2		ad
1777	Mortoun	Magdalen	1		ad
1778	Russell	Patrick	2		-
1779	Libra	Broun	1		ad
1780	Faupe	Agnes	1		ad
1781	Gremleyes	Robert	2		ad
1782	Manuall	Cristian	1		-
1783	Spittel	Mairan	1	sick	-
1784	Aitoun	Robert	2		-
1785	Aitoun	Mairan	1		ad
1786	Scot	Margt	1		ad
1787	Cuming	James	2	deid	lb
1788	Stevin	Annabel	1		-
1789	Brounhill	Patrick	2		ad
1790	Galloway	Janet	1		ad
1791	Blak	James	2		ad
1792	Thomson	Janet	1		ad
1793	Richie	Mairan	1		-
1794	Wricht	Adame	2		ad
1795	Stevinstou	Jealls	1		lb
1796	Aitkin	Johne	1		ad
1797	Wobster	Archibal	2		ad
1798	Paislay	Margt	1	n.c.lyand	-
1799	Con	Thomas	1	n.c.	-
1800	Cater	Margt	1		lb

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1801		Linsay	Gavin	2		-
1802		Muir	Agnes	1		-
1803		Scobie	Isabell	1		-
1804		Hoge	Andro	2		ly
1805		Merstoun	Janet	1		lb
1806		Frissell	William	1		-
1807		Caird	Janet	1		-
1808		Helbresoun	Johne	2		ad
1809		Fairholme	Janet	1		ad
1810		Walls	James	1		ad
1811		Rae	Bessie	1		ad
1812		Listoun	Jeane	1		l
1813		Wricht	Johne	2		ad
1814		Frissell	Margt	1		ad
1815		Spence	Thomas	2		ad
1816		Clerksoun	Violat	1		ad
1817		Forrester	William	2		ad
1818		Cock	Janet	1		ad
1819		Ramsay	Isabell	1		lb
1820		Porteous	Rauff	1		lb
1821		Chisholme	Mairan	1		lb
1822		Finlasoun	Johne	2		ad
1823		Richison	Agnes	1		lb
1824		Reid	Reid	1		ad
1825		Mcarraick	Beigs	1		lb
1826		Speir	Peter	1		ad
1827		Muir	Janet	1		ad
1828		Roull	Agnes	1		ad
1829		Pitkairne	Henrie	2		ad
1830		Murray	Jeane	1	sick	ad
1831		Dempster	Wm	1		-
1832		Speir	Johne	2		ad
1833		Brounfield	Susanna	1		ad
1834		Hog	Johne	2		ad
1835		Fyff	Helene	1		ad
1836		Nicoll	Andro	2	afield	-
1837		Crechtoun	Janet	1	seik	-
1838		Nicoll	Margt	1		ad
1839		Spadane	James	2	seik	-
1840		Alchonar	Margt	1	c.n.	lb
1841		Simsoun	Rot	2		-
1842		McKatnay	Cristian	1	cnj	lb
1843		Allane	Rot	2		ad
1844		Dow	Sibella	1	n.c.	lb
1845		Leslie	Margt	2		ad
1846		Meldrum	Andro	1		ad
1847		Baird	Helene	2		ad
1848		Moncure	Patrick	1		ad
1849		Rattray	Katherin	1		-
1850		Marshall	Jealls	2	sies nocht	-

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	desigtn	note
1851		Rankene	David	1	seik	-
1852		Rankene	George	1		ad
1853		Scot	Walter	2	strykis his wyf-	
1854		Lawson	Margt	1		ad
1855		Thomson	George	2		ad
1856		Reid	Helene	1		ad
1857		Abirnethie	Jeane	1		1
1858		Stratoun	Patrick	2		ad
1859		Moffat	Bessie	1		ad
1860		Patoun	Andro	1		ad
1861		Murray	Johne	1		lb
1862		Johnnestoun	Janet	1		ad
1863		Meine	Katherine	1		1
1864		Millar	Alexr	2		lb
1865		Young	Mairan	1		ad
1866		Pumphray	Wm	1		ad
1867		Reddie	Mairan	1		lg
1868		Spens	Christiar	1		ad
1869	Potteraw (1637 part)	Reull	Alexr	2		ad
1870		Alexander	Marion	1		-
1871		Ritcheson	Mathow	1		ad
1872		Grahame	Thomas	1		-
1873		Dickison	Johne	2	sand toter	11
1874		Ritchison	Helene	1		ad
1875		Dickison	Johne	1	for.	1
1876		Dickison	Isobell	1		ad
1877		Adamson	Marion	1		ad
1878		Lowrie	Mart	1		ad
1879		Strais	Marion	1	get	lb
1880		Meikill	Agnes	1	get	lb
1881		Mair	James	1	get	lb
1882		Alexander	Gilbert	1		ad
1883		Aittony	Johne	1	ban.	lb
1884		Wynd	Johne	1	get	lb
1885		Ross	Issobell	2		ad
1886		Burghe	Cristian	1		ad
1887		Ross	Peter	2	too sik	ad
1888		Boyd	Marjorie	1		ad
1889		Ross	Richard	1		ad
1890		Ross	Elspet	1		ad
1891		Chalmers	Jon	1	get	ad
1892		Hopperingi	James	1		ad
1893		Herring	Robert	1		ad
1894		Walls	James	1		ad
1895		Ormiston	Agnes	1	get	-
1896		Burnet	Katherine	2	siek	ad
1897		Abernethie	Grissell	2		ad
1898		Lawson	Mart	1		ad
1899		Ling	Francis	2		-
1900		Bronning	Mart	1		lb

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1901		Heryot	Henrie	2		ad
1902		Swan	Katherin	1		lb
1903		Lingetwood	George	1	get	l
1904		Edger	Richard	1	get	l
1905		Stevinson	William	1		-
1906		Stirdman	Jonet	1		lb
1907		Craig	Beatriz	1		lb
1908		McHeid	George	1		-
1909		Fultoun	Jonet	2		ad
1910		Marteines	Marion	1		ad
1911		Rankiene	Johne	2		ad
1912		Fleming	Mart	1		ad
1913		Argo	Andro	1		ad
1914		Ayttoun	Mart	1		ad
1915		Creichtoun	Kat:	1		ad
1916		Inglis	David	2		-
1917		Broun	Issobell	1		-
1918		Heriot	Andro	2		ad
1919		Hynd	Helene	1		ad
1920		Sandman	Johne	2		ad
1921		Swan	Bessie	1		ad
1922		Sandman	Kat	1		ad
1923		Listoun	Robert	2		ad
1924		Lawsoune	Janet	1		ad
1925		Dowglas	Patrik	2		ad
1926		Nicolson	Marion	1		ad
1927		Wilson	Thomas	2		ad
1928		Futhne	Andro	2		ad
1929		Watson	Agnes	1		ad
1930		Lapslie	Alesr	1		lb
1931		Trumbill	Alexr	1		yt
1932		Thorbrand	William	2		ad
1933		Cowper	Janet	1		ad
1934		Ker	Walter	2		ad
1935		Nimok	Janet	1		ad
1936		Stevin	James	2		ad
1937		Kier	Mart	1		lb
1938		Stevin	Jonet	1		lb
1939		Alexander	Johne	2		ad
1940		Stevin	Elspet	1		ad
1941		Davidsons	James	2		ad
1942		Jealls	Thomsone	1		ad
1943		Broun	Jonet	1		l
1944		Paterson	Alexr	2		ad
1945		Ainslie	Helene	1		ad
1946		Murray	Thomas	1		ad
1947		Thomson	Robert	1		ad
1948		Baxter	James	1	get	l
1949	Potteraw (1636 part	Stevin	Robert	2	afield	ad
1950		Carmichell	Agnes	1		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
1951		Stevin	Bessie	1		ad
1952		Warner	William	1		ad
1953		Greenley	Johne	2		ad
1954		Thomson	Jeane	1		ad
1955		Wadie	James	2		ad
1956		Porteous	Janet	1		ad
1957		Mckaitnay	Johne	2		-
1958		Kincaid	Agnes	1		ad
1959		McDowgall	Bearix	2		ad
1960		Aitkin	Johne	1		ad
1961		Quhithill	Cristian	1		ad
1962		Listoun	Thomas	2		ad
1963		Congiltoun	Marion	1		ad
1964		Listoun	Wm	1		ad
1965		Stewman	Mairon	2		ad
1966		Hardie	Christia	1		ad
1967		Chanchler	Alexr	2		lb
1968		Camichell	Elspeth	1		-
1969		Lambe	Isabell	1	c.n.	-
1970		Roger	Robert	2	7&8 Feb	ad
1971		Herriot	Agnes	1		ad
1972		Wilson	Johne	1		lb
1973		Hardie	Johne	1		ad
1974		Nicolson	Agnes	1		-
1975		Scot	lotome?	1		yt
1976		Crawford	Johne	1		-
1977		Struthers	Agnes	1		y
1978		Beam	Johne	2		lb
1979		Lalydore?	Janet	1		g
1980		Frissell	Johne	2		lb
1981		Moffat	Agnes	1		ad
1982		Campbell	William	2		ad
1983		Hoge	Mart	1		ad
1984		Wast	Thomas	1		-
1985		Brounhill	Robert	2	afield	-
1986		Wyllie	Marion	1		-
1987		Campbell	Janet	2		ad
1988		Haddan	Isabell	1		ad
1989		Wilson	Margt	1		ad
1990		Pillouns	Johne	2		ad
1991		Fleming	Kath.	1		ad
1992		Pillons	Johne	1		-
1993		Muir	George	2		ad
1994		Blak	Janet	1		ad
1995		Jack	Mart	1		lb
1996		Thomson	Marion	1		ad
1997		Mortoun	Marion	1		ad
1998		Wardlaw	Elspeth	1		-
1999		Burgh	Cristian	1		ad
2000		Young	Mart	2	get	ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
2001		Nasmyth	Thomas	1	get	-
2002		Neisbit	Bessie	1		-
2003		Symontoun	Marion	1		ad
2004		Symontoun	Robert	1	get	-
2005		Carmichell	Grissell	1	seik	-
2006		Dunlape	Johne	2		1
2007		Peries	Marget	1		ad
2008		Barroun	Geills	2		lb
2009		Hoge	Johne	1	disab.	1
2010		Watt	Robert	2		ad
2011		Anderson	Peter	2		ad
2012		Anderson	Cristian	1		ad
2013		Crawfurd	Beatrice	2		ad
2014		Listoun	Janet	1		ad
2015		Dyatt	Alisoun	1		ad
2016		Erwing	Janet	1		ad
2017		Martiene	Robert	2	afield	-
2018		Thomson	Janet	1		ad
2019		Richison	Helen	2		ad
2020		Aitkin	Harie	2		ad
2021		Fairlie	Mairan	1		-
2022		Rutherford	John	2		-
2023		Blakwa[ter	Agnes	1		-
2024		Colyear	Isabell	1		yt
2025		Manuall	Johne	2		-
2026		Hilstoun	Janet	1		lb
2027		Pursell	Johne	2		ad
2028		Robesoun	Margt	1		ad
2029		Gray	Thomas	2	Mr	-
2030		Young	Janet	1		ad
2031		Krie	Johne	2	deid	-
2032		Storie	Helene	1		-
2033		Mekill	Williame	2		-
2034		Lyall	Janet	1		-
2035		Lawrie	Janet	1		-
2036		Henrisoun	Johne	2		ad
2037		Thomsoun	Isbell	1		ad
2038		Henrisoun	Mart	1		-
2039		Inglis	Johne	2		ad
2040		Pollok	Mairan	1		ad
2041		Pollok	Eufame	1		ad
2042	Qyerriehouses	Hepburn	Adame	3	Mr	ad
2043		Foulls	Agnes	1		ad
2044		Ross	Thomas	1		-
2045		Abercrombi	David	2		ad
2046		Foulls	Elizabet	1		yl
2047		Foulls	Agnes	1		ad
2048		Jinners?	Mart	1		ad
2049		Hill	Katherin	1		-
2050		Meilsons	Johne	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
2051		Edingtoun	Isobell	1		ad
2052		Edingtoun	Agnes	1		-
2053		Smyt	Cristian	2	Mr J S[imerl	
2054		Murie	Janet	1		ad
2055		Spence	Marion	1		ad
2056		Young	Marion	1		ad
2057		Spence	Jonet	1	deid	yl
2058		Tayt	Alisone	2		-
2059		Melross	Adame	1		-
2060		Johnston	Cristian	1		ad
2061		Lambie	Helene	1		ll
2062		Forrester	Thomas	2		ad
2063		Bathcat	Marion	1		lb
2064		Forrester	William	1		lb
2065		Forrester	Johne	1	bikker	yt
2066		Hynd	William	2		ad
2067		Johnston	Elspit	1		ad
2068		Coleine	Isobell	1		ad
2069		Russell	Robert	2		-
2070		Purdie	Elspit	1		ad
2071		Russell	Johne	1		ad
2072		Russell	Jonet	1		ad
2073		Currie	Marion	1		ad
2074		Fender	Bessie	2		lb
2075		Broune	Jeane	1	get	-
2076		Young	William	2		ad
2077		Craw	Marion	1		ad
2078		Young	George	1		ad
2079		Young	Mathow	1		ad
2080		Schoibe	Barbara	1		ad
2081		Craig	Beatrix	1		AD
2082		Murie	James	2		-
2083		Fleming	Mart	1		-
2084		Ritchieson	Agnes	1		-
2085		Megat	Isobell	1		-
2086		Megat	Sara	1		-
2087	Pleasance	Pacok	Alexr	2		ad
2088		Rodger	Alisone	1		ad
2089		McAla	Johne	2		-
2090		Greme	Bessie	1		-
2091		Thomsone	Barbara	2		-
2092		Hamiltoun	Thomas	1		ad
2093		Hamiltoun	Katherin	1		l
2094		Craigiehal	Jonet	1		-
2095		Ritchieson	David	2		-
2096		Strang	Katherin	1		-
2097		Andersone	Katherin	2		ad
2098		Mowatt	Issobell	1		ad
2099		Williamson	Richard	2		ad
2100		Hunter	Elspit	1		-

APPENDIX FOUR

location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
2101	Steill	William	2		ad
2102	Broun	Alisone	1	seik	-
2103	Steill	Jonet	1		lb
2104	Mos'ne?	Jonet	1		lb
2105	Moffet	George	2		ad
2106	Keir	Janet	1		ad
2107	Lyell	Johne	2		ad
2108	Ross	Barabara	1		ad
2109	Broun	Cristian	1		ad
2110	McGill	Jeane	1		ad
2111	Bird	Johne	2	seik	ad
2112	Boyis	James	2		ad
2113	Wilsone	Jonet	1		ad
2114	Boyis	Samuell	1		ad
2115	Boyis	William	1		ad
2116	Nisbet	Johne	2		ad
2117	Walker	Adame	2		ad
2118	Bryce	Mart	1		ad
2119	Walker	Andro	1		ad
2120	Geddes	Alexr	2	seik	-
2121	Geddes	Helene	1		ad
2122	Houstoun	Rot	1		ad
2123	Wauche	Jeane	1	seik	-
2124	Duncan	James	1		ad
2125	Wod	Quintein	2		ad
2126	Fisher	Jonet	1		ad
2127	Gray	Johne	2		ad
2128	Philpe	Issobell	1		ad
2129	Wod	Abraham	2		-
2130	Eleis	Mart	1		ad
2131	Houston	Helene	1		-
2132	Savadge	George	2		ad
2133	Storie	Isobell	1	seik	-
2134	Cadell	James	1		ad
2135	McKenzie	Donald	1		ad
2136	Mckil	Johne Issobell	1	get	1
2137	Savage	William	1	get	1
2138	Cairns	Janes	1		ad
2139	Selleris	Issobell	1		ad
2140	Cairns	Thomas	1		ad
2141	Drava	James	2		ad
2142	McKenzie	Jeane	1		ad
2143	Campbell	Marie	1		-
2144	Gordoun	Adame	1		-
2145	Gordoun	Andro	1		-
2146	Cloll	Elspit	1		-
2147	Broun	William	2	afield	ad
2148	Wryt	Bessie	1		ad
2149	Stewart	Issobel	1		-
2150	Frank	Alexr	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
2151		Small	Elspet	1		lb
2152		Mudie	Johne	1		-
2153		Robb	Mart	1	seik	-
2154		Sweit	Johne	2		ad
2155		Pamphray	Bessie	1		ad
2156		Crawfurd	Johne	2		ad
2157		Haliburton	Agnes	1		ad
2158		Ready	Johne	1		ad
2159		Sympson	Thomas	2		ad
2160		Fule?	Helene	1		ad
2161		Rotson	Helene	2		ad
2162		Young	Frances	1		ad
2163		Shaw	Johne	2		ad
2164		Liddell	Mart	1		ad
2165		Ewing	George	1		ad
2166		Kilpatrik	Bessie	1	evill	lb
2167		Greir	Jeane	1		-
2168		Greir	Helene	1		yt
2169		Crawfurd	James	2		ad
2170		Gibb	Agnes	1		ad
2171		Robeson	[w]m	1		ad
2172		Holmes	Helen	1		yt
2173		Stevin	Mart	1		ad
2174		Falk	Johne	1		ad
2175		Porteous	Bessie	1		ad
2176		Mongell	James	1		ad
2177		Wedderspon	James	2		ad
2178		Qyhyt	Jonet	1		ad
2179		Quhyt	Johne	1		yl
2180		Wauchope	Ard.	2		ad
2181		Brounfield	Mart	1		-
2182		Wauchope	Frederic	1		yl
2183		Sydserf	Marie	1		lb
2184		Johnston	Johne	2		ad
2185		Wilson	Janet	1		ad
2186		Johnston	Wm	1		yl
2187		Flemyng	Cristian	2	seik	lb
2188		Jeane ←→	Kirk	1	c.n.	ad
2189		Nisbet	Jon	1		ad
2190		Miter	Bessie	1		ad
2191		Carmichill	Jon	1		ad
2192		Grant	John	1		ylb
2193		Blair	James	2		ad
2194		Blair	Jonet	1		-
2195		Drava	Thomas	1		lb
2196		Clerk	William	2		lb
2197		Blair	Marion	1		ad
2198		Broun	Mart	2		ad
2199		Fisher	Hew,	1		ad
2200		Mitchell	Issubell	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	desigtn	note
2201		Shorteins	Johne	1		ad
2202		Gatts	Janet	1		lb
2203		Crysteson	Janet	1		ad
2204		Lyell	George	2		ad
2205		Glesgow	Mart	1		ad
2206		Uduart	James	2	get	1
2207		Edie	Janet	1		-
2208		Lowrence	Blu't	1		-
2209		Dewberrie	Agnes	1		-
2210		Tulloche	George	2	seik	-
2211		Crawfurd	Helene	1	lyand	-
2212		Fergusson	Jonet	2		-
2213		Gibsone	Agnes	1		-
2214		Kennor	Janet	1		-
2215		Kennor	Jeane	1		-
2216		Crawfurde	James	1		-
2217		Wallace	Mart	1		-
2218		Stewart	Bessie	1		-
2219		Dewar	Andro	2		ad
2220		Mill	Katherin	1		ad
2221		Dewar	James	1		ad
2222		Dewar	Johne	1		yl
2223		Lowrence	Rotsone	2		lb
2224		Logan	Agnes	1		lb
2225		Kilpatrick	Cuthbert	2	afield	-
2226		Gibsone	Elspit	1		-
2227		Edie	James	2		ad
2228		Walker	Cristian	1		ad
2229		Kirkland	Gilbert	2		ad
2230		Hamilton	Elspit	1		ad
2231		Kirkland	James	1		ad
2232		Stoddert	Jon	1		-
2233		Wilson	Marion	1		lb
2234		Dobie	Helene	1		-
2235		Walls	James	2		-
2236		Wilson	Issubell	1	resetts	1
2237		Eger	Marion	1	adul.	-
2238		McKillois	Thomas	2	c.n.	lb
2239		Sympson	Helene	1	c.n.	lb
2240		Fentoun	Ard.	1	get	1
2241		Flemyng	Ewpham	1		-
2242		Wilson	Johne	2		lb
2243		Young	Katherin	1		ad
2244		Somervell	Johne	1	c.n.	ylig
2245		Wryt	Andro	2	blind	ad
2246		Sympson	Mart	1		ad
2247		Duncan	William	1		ad
2248		Wilkie	Barbara	2		ad
2249		Duncan	Helene	1		ad
2250		Donaldson	Hew	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tenet	design	note
2251		Scott	Sara	1		-
2252		Melvill	Issobell	1		y
2253		Hardie	William	2		ad
2254		Glesgow	Mart	1		ad
2255		Norie	John	2		ad
2256		Cathkin	Isobell	1		ad
2257		Johnston	Jonet	1		ad
2258		Read	Adame	2		ad
2259		Porteous	Jeane	1		ad
2260		Lettrik	Thomas	2		ad
2261		Alane	Agnes	1		ad
2262		Thomson	Johne	2		llo
2263		Carraill	Issobell	1		lb
2264		Thomson	Issobell	1		ad
2265		Bell	Johne	1		ad
2266		Sympson	Marion	1		ad
2267		Paterson	Hew	2		-
2268		Morison	Janet	1		-
2269		Young	Helene	2		ad
2270		Schortes	Johne	1		'
2271		Fairly	Doratie	1		ad
2272		Hog	William	1		ad
2273		Crawfurd	Mart	1		ad
2274		Murdoche	Adame	1		lb
2275		Dunbar	Janet	1		lb
2276		Paterson	Henrie	2		ad
2277		Steill	Issobell	1		-
2278		Hoome	Jeane	1		-
2279		Broun	Issobell	1		ad
2280		Robertson	Agnes	2		ad
2281		Grahame	Mart	1		ad
2282		Fergusson	Ewpham	1		ad
2283		Crawfurd	Patrick	2		ad
2284		Liltson	Bessie	1		ad
2285		Haddock	Johne	1		yl
2286		McCoull	Malcolm	2		-
2287		Douglas	Marion	1		ad
2288		Hutoun	Normone	2		ad
2289		Lamb	Katherin	1		ad
2290		Young	Helene	1		ad
2291		Barrie	Bessie	2		ad
2292		Cowper	James	1		ad
2293		Thomson	Agnes	1		ad
2294		Meik	Agnes	1		ylb
2295		Harvie	Patrik	1		ll
2296		Cleland	Marie	1		-
2297		Greir	Marion	1		-
2298		Walker	Andro	2		ad
2299		Jonet	↔ Gairdner	1		ad
2300		Mart	↔ Gairdner	1		lb

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	designn	note
2301		Cristian	McGowne	1		-
2302		Veitche	William	2		ad
2303		Sympson	Jeane	1		-
2304		Bauche	Issobell	1		-
2305		Patoun	Johne	2		ad
2306		Greve	Jonet	1		ad
2307		Dobie	Marion	1		ad
2308		Parok	Jonet	1		-
2309		Straco'n	Crystian	1		ad
2310		Caldwell	Mart	1	get	ad
2311		Veitche	Cristian	1		ad
2312		Alexander	Johne	2		ad
2313		Landell	Helene	1		ad
2314		Read	Johne	2		-
2315		Spence	Beatrice	1		ad
2316		Read	Johne	1		ad
2317		Read	William	1		yl
2318		Chisholme	George	1		ad
2319		Lyndesy	Marion	1		ad
2320		Chisholme	Janet	1		ad
2321		Chisholme	Bessie	1		ad
2322		Chisholme	Jeane	1		ad
2323		Lyell	Johne	2		-
2324		Stratoun	Bessie	1		ad
2325		Dundas	James	1		-
2326		Rutherford	George	1		lb
2327		Taytt	Johne	1		-
2328		Purdie	Beigs	1		ad
2329		Wilson	Marion	1		lb
2330		Gilbert	Katherine	2	(see 1630 teind-	-
2331		W'dlaw	Katherine	1		ad
2332		Dowglas	Sara	1		ad
2333		W'dlaw	Sibbill	1		ad
2334		Somervell	Helene	1		ad
2335		Arthor	Mart	1		-
2336		Dewar	Andro	2		-
2337		Hutoun	Mart	1		-
2338		Barrie	Thomas	1		ad
2339		Fairbairne	Mart	1		-
2340	Backraw	Listoun	Harie	2		-
2341		Shaw	Helene	2		ad
2342		Patersone	Mart	1		ad
2343		Listoun	George	2		ad
2344		Fairholme	Helene	1		d
2345		Dewar	Johne	1		-
2346		Johnston	Jon	1		lb
2347		Fairholme	Jonet	1		ad
2348		Drummond	Jeane	1		lb
2349		Jemison	Helene	1		lb
2350		Denholm	Marion	2		ad

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	desigtn	note
2351		Ewart	Nicoll	2		-
2352		Watson	Agnes	1		-
2353		Ewart	Harie	1		-
2354		Miller	Elspe	1		-
2355		Caldwell	William	2		ad
2356		Caldwell	Jon	1		ad
2357		Caldwell	Jonet	1		ad
2358		Mowat	George	2		ad
2359		Dengzell	Jealls	1		ad
2360		Mowat	Doratie	1		ad
2361		Mowat	Barbara	1	evill speiker	-
2362		Beg	Johne	2		lll
2363		Broun	Katherine	1		ad
2364	Location unknown (1636)	Wallace	William	2		ad
2365		Gruyd	Issobell	1		ad
2366		Wall	Andro	1		ad
2367		Cochrane	William	1		ad
2368		Girdwod	Adame	1		ad
2369		Burnet	William	1		lb
2370		Jonstone	Jon	1		lg
2371		Firthe	Jeane	1		lb
2372		Cavell	Agnes	1		ad
2373		Broun	Alisone	1		ad
2374		Wallace	William	1		ylb
2375		Arthor	William	3	Mr	-
2376		Stewart	Jeane	3		ad
2377		Arthor	William	3	Mr	ad
2378		Sinclair	Rot	1		ad
2379		Arthor	Marion	3		ad
2380		Arthor	Jeane	3		ad
2381		Frier	Mart	1		ad
2382		Downie	Janet	1		-
2383		Sinclair	Katherine	1		ad
2384		Touris	George	3	Sir	-
2385		Ker	Jean	3	Dame	-
2386		Touris	William	3		-
2387		Touris	Grissell	3		-
2388		Touris	Marie	3		-
2389		Lauder	Alexr	1		-
2390		Jarden	Euffam	1		-
2391		Phine	George	3	Mr	-
2392		Beshenden	Adam	1		-
2393		Hoome	James	1		-
2394		Lennox	James	1		-
2395		Rot'son	Grezil	1		-
2396		Hay	William	1		-
2397		Cuningham	Andro	1		-
2398		Mak	William	1		-
2399		Dickson	Agnes	1		-
2400	Deane (1636) part	Nisbet	Patrik	3	Mr	-

APPENDIX FOUR

	location	surname	forename	tent	designn	note
2401		Nisbet	Harie	3 Mr		-
2402		Nisbet	Janet	3		-
2403		Nisbet	Jon	3 Mr		-
2404		Colzean	Elspet	1		-
2405		Flisher	Isobell	1		-
2406		Hoome	George	1		-
2407		Fleshor	Mark	1		-
2408		.....	Francis	3 Mr		-
2409		Burne	Elspet	1		-
2410	Ravilston (1636) part	Fowler	George	2		-
2411		Sinclair	Jeane	1		-
2412		Aitkin	Mathow	1		-
2413		Gibb	David	1		-
2414		Russell	William	1		-
2415		Fowler	Jeane	2		-
2416		Drummond	Ard.	1		-
2417		Cordell	Hew	1		-
2418		Murray	Mart	1		-
2419		Godstirk	Jonet	1		-
2420		Law	Jonet	1		-
2421		Paislay	Mart	1		-

APPENDIX V

ST CUTHBERTS TEINDS VALUATION 1628-30

The registers of teinds for the parish of St Cuthberts (N.A.S. ref: TE1/1), was examined in an attempt to identify who the main landowners or teind paying tenants may have been during the c.1630 study period. An objective was to compare the findings with the examination rolls of 1635 for that parish (see Appendix v above), to try and identify what proportions of those examined may have been either above or below the rank of tenant (see also pages 114-118).

In this particular exercise it soon became evident that parts of St Cuthberts such Dean, Stockbridge, Canon Mills and Potters Row, were not listed for teinds. This is undoubtedly an indication that these districts were considered urban as early as the 1620s. The usefulness of these valuation rolls for the objectives of this study was further called into question when the data-base listing indicated that 27 of the potential 77 teind paying proprietors appeared to have been residing outwith the parish of St Cuthberts. These listings do however provide posterity with an idea of what areas in that parish may still have been considered rural, to a degree, in the 1620s.

APPENDIX FIVE

St Outhberts teind valuation 1630

	location	proprietor	forename	designation	notes	resides in
1	Pleasance, Croftland of	Robeson	Johnne	umql		in Edinburgh 2
2	East Borrowmuir & Back of Pleasance	Lyell	Johnne			in Pleasance 1
3	Wester Borrowmuir	Larie	Johnne			at West Port 1
4	Godscroft by Holyroodhouse	Hart	Johnne			in Canongait 2
5	Pleasance, back of 2 & Old Mure	Crawford	James			in Pleasance 1
6	Pleasance, 7 acres around	Gilbert	Katharine	relict of	also 1628 valuation	in Pleasance 1
7	Pleasance? 1 acre	Fisher	Hew		John Wardlaw	Pleasance 1
8	Pleasance, 1.5 acres	Hart	William	son of umql	James Hart	Pleasance? 1
9	Pleasance, back of, piece of land	Bryssone	Robert	book binder		in Canongait 2
10	Pleasance?, 4th part of acre	Douglas	James	maisson		Pleasance? 1
11	Pleasance, back of, piece of land	Meane	Issobell			Pleasance? 1
12	Brouchtoun, 46 arable acres	Olyphant	Johnne	Mr		Brouchtoun 1
13	Brouchtoun, 32 arable acres	Jackson	Johnne	Mr		Brouchtoun 1
14	Brouchtoun, 40 acres	Coupar	Johnne	of Cogar		Brouchtoun 1
15	Brouchtoun, 28 acres	Kae	James			Cogar 2
16	Brouchtoun, 10 arable acres	Kae	William			in Linlithgow 2
17	Brouchtoun, 28 arable acres	Mathesone	James			in Canongait 2
18	Brouchtoun, 3 arable acres	Lands	Johnne			in Brouchtoun 1
19	Brouchtoun, 28 acres	Crichtoun	James	Mr		in Edinburgh 2
20	Brouchtoun 18 Drumsheuch 4 acres	Scot	Johnne	of Drumsheuch		in Edinburgh 1
21	Brouchtoun, 22 arable acres	Kerr	Johnne	skipper		in Edinburgh 2
22	Brouchtoun, 12 acres	Bannatyne	James	umql, his heirs		in Leith 2
23	Brouchtoun, 7 acres.	Short	Bessie	relict of	Charles Murry	Brouchtoun? 1
24	Brouchtoun, 2 acres	Bannatyne	James	son of umql Mr	Pat Bannatyne	Brouchtoun? 1
25	Brouchtoun, 2 acres	Cunninghame	William	umql wrytter	his heirs	Brouchtoun? 1
26	Bonnytownfields 12 Hilhousefield	Heriot	Alexr	merchant	burgess	of Edinburgh 2
27	Bonnytown Fields, 10 acres	Wadie	Johnne			in Leith 2
28	Newhaven 4.5 Hilhousefield 6 acres	Logane	James	of Colstoun	& Bonnyton 5 acr	2
29	Newhaven Hilhousefield Warriston	Kincaid	Thomas	of Waristoun	also 1628 valuation	1
30	CraigHouse, lands of	Simsone	Laurance	of Craighouse		Craighouse 1
31	Canaan, portion of	Maxwell	Johnne	umql, his heirs		Canaan? 1
32	Sichthill	Moresone	Alexr	Mr		Sichthill? 1

APPENDIX FIVE

St Cuthberts teind valuation 1630

	location	proprietor	forename	designation	notes	resides in
33	Saughtoun, part of	Girdwod	Thomas			in Saughton? 1
34	Saughtonhall, part of	Lawtie	James	Mrs		Saughtonhall? 1
35	Saughtonhall, part of	Moresone	George			Saughtonhall? 1
36	Saughtonhall, part of	Wast	Robert			Saughtonhall? 1
37	Saughtonhall, part of	Hamiltoun	Robert			Saughtonhall? 1
38	Saughtonhall, part of	Watsoun	Alexr			Saughtonhall? 1
39	Saughtonhall, part of	Wimram	James			Saughtonhall? 1
40	Coitts	Herries	Robert	Mr	minister	Coitts? 1
41	Newheaven, part of	Hendersone	Walter	of Grantoun		2
42	Newheaven, part of	Broun	Hew	umql, his heirs		Newheaven? 1
43	Newheaven, part of	Smith	Edmond	umql		in Canongait 2
44	Newheaven, 15 arable acres	Smailholme	George			in Leith 2
45	Newheaven, part of	Wilsons	John			Newheaven? 1
46	Newheaven, part of	Kirkwod	Gilbert	goldsmith	burgess	in Edinburgh 2
47	Newheaven, part of	Robeson	David			in Leith 2
48	Newheaven, part of	Cunninghame	Grissell	relict of	Al. Cunningham	Newheaven? 1
49	Newheaven, part of	Halyburton	Robert	merchant	burgess	in Edinburgh 2
50	Newheaven 2 Hillhousefield 1 acre	McKeson	Henrie			in Leith 2
51	Newheaven, 2 acres	Dawling	Jnt & Violdaughs of	umql Robert Dawling		in Leith 2
52	Newheaven, 2.5 acres	Fraser	Henrie			in Leith 2
53	Halblind acre	Leith k session				Leith 2
54	25 acres	Dick	Alexr	wrytter		1
55	6 acres	Lawsone	John	Mr		in Duddingsto 2
56	Hillhousefield, 2.5 acres	N Leith session	James			North Leith 2
57	Hillhousefield, 1 acre	Duncan	David	of Ratho		2
58	Bristo easter & wester, part of	Norie			also 1628 valuatn	2
59	Merchiston	....				in Edinburgh 2
60	Pilrig	....			1628 teind valuatn	1
61	Old Burrow moore	Cant	John	Mr	1628 teind valuatn	1
62	Old Burrow moore & East Muir	Johnstone	Samuel	Mr	1628 teind valuatn	1
63	Old Burrow moore & East Muir	Stevensone	Andrew	Mr	1628 teind valuatn	1
64	Hierigs	Foirres	Geo	Sir	1628 teind valuatn	1

St Cuthberts teind valuation 1630

	location	proprietor	forename	designation	notes	resides	in
65	East Muir	Rigg	Willam		1628 teind valuath		1
66	Dalry	Inverleith		Lairds of	1628 teind valuath		1
67	Dalry - Muire	Aikenhead	James	Mr	1628 teind valuath		1
68	Old Muire & Grange alias Senes	Naper	Alexr	Sir	1628 teind valuath		1
69	Old Muire	Adamson	John	Mr	1628 teind valuath		1
70	Craiglockhart	Foullis	James	Sir	1628 teind valuath		1
71	Coittes Easter	Gray	Samuel	Mr	1628 teind valuath		1
72	Clockmiln	Andrew	John		1628 teind valuath		1
73	Old Moore	Scott	Thomas		1628 teind valuath		1
74	Meadowft Dishift Silver Canonm	Broughton		Baron of	1628 teind valuath		1
75	Broughtoune	Douglas	William		1628 teind valuath		1
76	Braid, Barony of	Fairlie	Robert	Sir	1628 teind valuath		1
77	Nidderie	....			1628 teind valuath		1

APPENDIX VI

EDINBURGH'S NORTH-WEST, NORTH 1 TAX DISTRICT 1635

The map in the Edinburgh City Archives for the boundaries the of the districts for the collection of the local taxes around the year 1635 had indicated that district North-West, North 1, was likely to be in West Kirk or St Cuthberts parish (see fig x). But having compared in the names of the tax payers in this district with those on the 1635 Examination Roll for St Cuthberts (CH2/718/210), with the objective finding a ratio between tax payers and others in the area, unfortunately the names on the two sources did not coincide. This suggested that although the North-West, North 1 tax district appeared to be in St Cuthberts, the tax paying inhabitants of that district were more likely to be residing in an extension of Edinburgh's Toolbooth parish.

The following material collated during the course of this exercise should however always be of value for a wide range of associated studies, and can be compared with the data-base assisted study of the same area for the year 1752 (see Appendix VII). In both data-base studies 9 fields are used. In the 9th field headed 'ten' the number '2' was intended for those who appeared likely to be the main tenants, although some of these folk may simply have been the head of a household.

APPENDIX SIX

St Outhberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten
1 N.W.qtr.1st 3rd	E.Cunyngham &	Ushart	Nicoll	maltman		16	1
2		Galloway	Jas or Jon	tailor		18	1
3	Jas Young	Rid	Wm	tailor		10	1
4	E.Cunyngham &	Urre	John	tailor		18	1
5	Jas Young	Young	James	tailor	his house	19	2
6		Walls	John	walker		17	2
7 Gav.Steinsons Cls	G.Steinson	Lauson	Andro	poultreiman		10	1
8	Rob Keith	Makren	Donald			4	1
9		Hastie	Barbara	widow		4	1
10		Marshall	Thomas	workman		4	1
11		Renold	John			4	1
12	G.Steinson &	Steinson	Jonet	widow		8	2
13		Marjoribanks	Catherine	widow		8	1
14		Jollie	Margaret	widow		8	1
15		Makgie	John	walker		8	1
16		Selkrig	Richart			8	1
17		Somervell	Jonet			8	1
18		Cunyngham	John	workman		4	1
19		Russell	Michell	flesher		10	1
20	J.Bordland	Johnston	Gilbert	maltman		113	1
21 J.Bordlands Cls		Young	Robert	maltman		26	1
22		Johnston	Edward	maltman		12	1
23		Bordland	John	litster	his house	120	2
24	Thos Glenn	Mitchell	James	gentleman		26	1
25		Thomson	George			10	1
26		Lockie	Margaret			10	1
27		Moorehead	Claud	litster		30	1
28		Nicoll	Wm	tailor		26	1
29		Rennold	John	aquavit		36	1
30		Tennent	Margaret			14	1
31		Brown	Jonet			8	1
32		Glenn	Thomas	merchant	his house		2

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten
33		Ferrom	Thomas	gardner		10	1
34	Mari Herriot	Conn	Wm			6	1
35	J. Davidsons	relict Blake	Alison			6	1
36		Westwood	Henrie			6	1
37		Maison	John	sleadder		24	1
38		Johnston	Roger			10	1
39		Hog	Marie	widow		6	1
40		Blair	Symon	maison		10	1
41		Smyth	Robt	creillman		10	1
42		Laurie	George	officer		10	1
43		Smyth	Wm	candlemaker		10	1
44		Symson	James			26	1
45	J. Somervells	relict Deins	John			8	1
46		Murdo	George			8	1
47		Pennie	Alexr			6	1
48		Somervells		relict	her house	6	2
49		Storie	George			10	1
50		Kerr	Gilbert			8	1
51		Banks	Nicoll	workman		6	1
52		Brown	James			10	1
53		Young	Margaret			10	1
54		Nemok	Margaret			12	1
55		Wood	Catherine			13	1
56	Alex Dickie	....			poor tenants		1
57		Makmillan	George			6	1
58		Hammell	Hew			12	1
59	T. Makquherrie &	Melrose	George	spongemaker		6	1
60		Laurie	John			8	1
61		Kilpatrick	James			8	1
62		Makquherrie	Bessie			12	2
63		Yeatts	John	workman		5	1
64		Barton	Sibbilla			5	1

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten'
65		Dinsyre	Mongo			4 1
66		Kymming	John			4 1
67		Cambell	George			4 1
68		Couts	Henry			4 1
69		Millar	John			3 1
70		Baittie	Robt			5 1
71		Yeatts	John	elder		4 1
72		Clerkston	Margaret			3 1
73		Wallace	Wm			3 1
74		Marshall	Mathow			3 1
75		Spens	Marion			20 1
76	Castle Wynd	Aitkin	Thomas			10 1
77		Hunter	John			12 1
78		Rob	John	coupper		12 1
79		Urre	Robt		& Andro Russel	13 1
80		Geddes	Wm			20 1
81		King	Daniell			13 1
82		Kerse	John			10 1
83		Coutes	John			10 1
84		Johnston	Wm	gardener		3 1
85		Davidson	John			13 1
86		Magie	John	coupper		6 1
87		Millare	Elizabeth			6 1
88		Henrisone	Marion			3 1
89		Diksone	Jonet			3 1
90		Steill	Bessie			8 1
91		Easton	John	maltman	his house	2 1
92		Crichton	John			12 1
93		Caldwell	Robert			3 1
94		Aulds	Helen	widow		26 1
95	L.Lockies Cls	Lockie	Laurence	staibler		2 2
96		Wardlawe	Robt			13 1

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
97		Vause	John			6	1
98		Galbraith	Thomas			6	1
99		Rae	Archi			6	1
100		Hardie	John			6	1
101		Craig	Thomas			3	1
102		Knowes	Grissell			4	1
103		Makein	George			4	1
104		Smyth	Robt	maltman		10	1
105		Johnston	John	merchant		20	1
106		Short	Robt	maison		20	1
107		....		widow		8	1
108	J.Easton	Martine	John			5	1
109		Barrie	Jonet			18	1
110		Ellot	Wm			5	1
111	L.Lockie	Millar	Richart			5	1
112		Moore	Jonet		& Margt Urre	4	1
113		Dick	Hercules			4	1
114	J.Easton	Logan	Robt	oxen dryver		12	1
115	W.Salmond mt	Finlasone	Andro	smyth		16	1
116	....	Tueddell	James	staibler		14	1
117		Young	David	staibler			1
118		Anderson	James			4	1
119		Salmond	Christien			5	1
120		Lousone	Patrik			5	1
121		Anderson	John			5	1
122		Young	John			5	1
123		Dickie	John	smyth		33	1
124	J.Wilson litstr	Hamilton	Alexr			40	1
125		Anderson	Jonet			13	1
126	T.Clerkson	Mathesone	George	staibler		48	1
127		Mairchell	John			24	1
128		Moorehead	Alexr			15	1

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten
129		Paton	Alexr			12	1
130		Spens	Alexr			14	1
131		Clerkstone	Thomas	butterman	his house	40	2
132	J Wardrope	Wardrope	James	merchant	his house	40	2
133		Jonstone	Rosie			5	1
134	J Lightbodie mt	Crystie	James	maison		16	1
135		Moore	Jonet			16	1
136		Laing	Christian			16	1
137		Gaudie	John	[Sendtor]		30	1
138		Ramsay	Archi			20	1
139		....				12	1
140	J Drummond mt	Bryce	Alexr			20	1
141		Bryce	David			20	1
142		Porteus	Thomas	smyth		33	1
143		Gray	John	wright		10	1
144		Marchell	Wm			18	1
145		Davidson	Andro			13	1
146	John Mein mt	Hamilton	Robt	ofHillertonhill		12	1
147		Somervell	Robt	gentleman		17	1
148		Porteus	Wm	tailor		20	1
149		Craike	Wm			26	1
150		Murray	James			6	1
151	Mar'n Hamilton	Barnet	James			12	1
152		Baittie	Mongo			10	1
153		Williamson	Robt			12	1
154	G.Bennies heirs &	Knox	Elizabeth			8	1
155	or J Moodie tutor	Porteus	Nicoll			7	1
156		Parke	Wm	staibler		3	1
157		Patersonsone	Isobell			3	1
158		Eadie	James			8	1
159		Browne	Jonet	widow		8	1
160		Baxter	George			8	1

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
161		Hunter	Edward	merchant		8	1
162		Ritchie	James	merchant		24	1
163		Magathen	John			8	1
164		Murray	James			20	1
165		Miller	Thomas	merchant		13	1
166		Anderson	Janet	widow		20	1
167		Davidson	Richard	weabster		15	1
168		Greir	Jonet			5	1
169		Broke	George			12	1
170		Baillyie	David			8	1
171		Wyllie	Wm	buttermen		13	1
172		Sharpe	John			10	1
173		Braid Fairlie	John	Lairds of		73	1
174		Thomson	Patrick			30	1
175		Salmund	John	merchant		48	1
176		Hamilton	John	of Carlaurie		50	1
177		Salmund	Wm	merchant	his house	60	2
178		Allane	Andro	merchant		24	1
179	J.Tailfer	Tailfer	John	merchant		45	2
180		Thomson	David	tailyeor		20	1
181		Bairdie	Robert	staibler		44	1
182		Wealshe	George	merchant		16	1
183		Miller	Isobell	relict of	W Miller elder	54	2
184	Wm.Millers wid	Lauchope		laird of		30	1
185	J Lightbodie	Laurie	John	merchant		30	1
186		Lightbodie	James	merchant	his house	76	2
187	M Rosse baxtr	Jamesone	John	merchant		66	1
188	J Marshall gdsmt	Begg	John	merchant		50	1
189	Wm Ranken mt	Warrok	James	merchant		40	1
190	John Gairnes	Gairnes	John		his house	33	1
191	W Ranken	Watt	Peter			36	1
192		Glendining	Martin	merchant		36	1

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten'
193		Brown	David			36 1
194	Dav. Jonkin	Fisher	George	merchant		10 1
195	J Englis mt	Fokart	John	merchant		30 1
196		Auld	Thomas	merchant		33 2
197	Tho Auld mt	Wright	John	weabster		20 1
198	E Johnston	Begg	Thomas	merchant		20 1
199		Cokburne	Catherine			50 1
200	Mr J Galloway	Denholme	John	merchant		36 1
201	Elizth Ker wid	Robertson	John	merchant		15 1
202	Mr J Galloway	Symontone	Wm	skinner		12 1
203	Elizth Ker wid	Kallender	James			14 1
204		Mitchell	David	merchant		24 1
205	Elizth Ker wid	Ker	Elizabeth	widow	her house	24 2
206	D Mouttray	Mouttray	David	merchant	his house	62 2
207	E Moodie wid	Moodie	Andro			16 1
208	Old Port mid W, Bow	Grahame	David	merchant		36 1
209	P Sommervell	Sommervell	Peter	merchant	his house	100 2
210		Walker	George	merchant		80 1
211	H Crammond	Nicoll	John	merchant		66 1
212		Sommervell	Thomas	merchant		80 1
213		Montgomery	George	his relict		100 1
214		Wilsone	Robt	merchant		50 1
215	J Easton or heirs	Grahame	James	merchant		40 1
216		Small	Isobell	widow		45 1
217		Porter	Wm	merchant	in J Eastons	100 1
218		Foster	Alexr	merchant	there	80 1
219		Small	Isobell			24 1
220		Murray	James	buttermen		13 1
221		Weir	Sibylla	widow		36 1
222		Corsew	Robt			20 1
223	Jas Englis mt	Englis	Thomas	[Peadterer]		80 1
224	Weyehouse Sthside	Justice	John	baxter		20 1

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten'
225		Ramsay	Andro	Mr	minister	200 1
226		Englis	John	Mr		133 1
227		Cokburnspath		lady		133 1
228		Englis	James	merchant	his house	160 2
229		Grahame	David	merchant		50 1
230		Dickie	John	Mr		200 1
231		Aitken	Alexr			66 1
232		Sands	Robert	merchant		44 1
233		Patersone	John			53 1
234		Gibson	Henry	Mr		40 1
235		Nicoll	John	wrytter		80 1
236		Carneagie	Robt	merchant		80 1
237		Fleiming	Robt	merchant		120 1
238	J Cochranes Cls	Cochrane	James	merchant	his house	133 2
239		Rid	Robt			40 1
240		King's	Robt	his relict		66 1
241		Murray	Wm	gentleman		60 1
242		Cochrane	Wm	merchant	his house	80 2
243		Struthers'	Mr Wm	his relict		80 1
244		Parke	John			80 1
245		Sands	David			20 1
246		Windrome	John	merchant		150 1
247		Scott	Mr James	merchant		133 1
248	....	Lapslie	Robt			8 1
249		Forsythe	John	merchant		32 1
250		Starke	Robt	wrytter		36 1
251		Englis	John	merchant	his house	90 2
252		Carstairs	John			266 1
253		Nicoll	James	merchant		60 1
254		Mitchell	John	baxter		50 1
255		Clerke	James	merchant		50 1
256		Pitkens	John	tailor		18 1

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten'
257		Whippo	John	baxter		20 1
258		Lawson	Jonet			5 1
259		Hunter	Robt			6 1
260	A Johnston mt	Bordlands	Christian			6 1
261		Murray	John	skinner		16 1
262	A Byning	Wauch	Issobell			12 1
263		Byning	Alexr		his house	66 2
264	Wm Mullikins	Smyth	Alexr			13 1
265		Ramsay	James	skinner		30 1
266		Begg	Archi			16 1
267		Douglas	Hector			20 1
268		Sands	David	wright		6 1
269	A Byning	Jacksone	James	merchant		19 1
270		Fleiming	Jonet			12 1
271	R Aikman & J Jack	Aikman	Robt	merchant	his house	73 2
272		Sommervell	Thomas	gentleman		10 1
273		Dalgliesh	Robt			30 1
274		Sommervell	Thomas	merchant		10 1
275		Hunter	Thomas			100 1
276		Nicoll	Thomas	wright		20 1
277		Wilkin	Jonet			80 1
278		Jonston	Archd			28 1
279		Symson	Marion			13 1
280		Jacksone	John		his house	30 2
281		Hamilton	Andro	cordiner		30 1
282	Jo Marjorybanks	Neillson	Gilbert	advocate		200 1
283		Lauthien		Earl of		266 1
284		Marjorybanks	Joseph	merchant	his house	80 2
285	J Wilson skinnr	Gullen	Alexr	his relict		66 1
286	A Gray maltm	Blake	Patrik	seave wright		12 1
287		Robertson	Archd			16 1
288		Guthrie	James	maison		13 1

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
289		Robertson	Margaret			8	1
290		Ainslie	John	maison		16	1
291		Baittie	Andro			20	1
292		Cullen	Alexr	tailor		13	1
293		Lindsaye	David			10	1
294		Andersone	Margaret			6	1
295		Staig	Hellen			5	1
296		Henrisone	Wm			5	1
297		Grahame	Walter			20	1
298		Claverhill	John			20	1
299	R Aikman	Mowbray	Wm	skinner		24	1
300	Cath Laurie	Laurie	Catherin		her house	40	2
301		Stewart	George			26	1
302	Back of Curries Cls	Wood	Helen			10	1
303	J Drummond mt	Cokburn	James	[cookon]		7	1
304		Wilstone	George			8	1
305		Spittell	Marion			8	1
306		Field	Hellen			4	1
307		Meldrum	Patrik			16	1
308		Foster	Wm			16	1
309		Brokhous	Issobell			10	1
310		Johnston	Robt			6	1
311		Craig	Robt			6	1
312		Steinsson	John	baxter		6	1
313		Marchell	Alexr			6	1
314		Eader	George	his relict		16	1
315		Hogslie	John			10	1
316		Drummond	James	merchant	his house	33	2
317	T Lauthiens wid	Lauthien	Thomas	his relict	her house	30	2
318		Hadonra	Robt	merchant		100	1
319	A & Mr R Scott	Makmichell	Catherin			66	1
320	-with J Windrom	Windrom	James		his house	100	2

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten
321	J Windrom	Robertson	James	Mr		100 1
322		Thomson	Walter	merchant		100 1
323		Hill	Andro	merchant		100 1
324	D Crichton wrtr	Moubray	Wm	skinner		10 1
325		Short	John	skinner		28 1
326	A Cumyng	Cumyng	Mr Alexr	advocate	his house	2 2
327	A & R Scott &	Scott	Andr & Rob		their house	2 2
328	D Crichton	Wilson	Janet	widow		10 1
329		Hamilton	Michell			10 1
330		Kirklands	George			13 1
331		Dinlape		Ladie		66 1
332		Mowbray	Wm			30 1
333		Mill	James			24 1
334	A Sym & W Moore	Moore	Wm	merchant	his house	2 2
335	A Sym	Maknacht	James			20 1
336		Sym	Alexr		his house	80 2
337		Couper		Lo[rd]		200 1
338		Thomson	Alexr	Mr	preacher	160 1
339	W Huchesone	Huchesone	Wm	skinner	his house	60 2
340	T Edger	Edger	Thomas	wrytter	his house	80 2
341		Libertson	Eupham			8 1
342		Campbell	James	merchant		66 1
343		Liberton	John			12 1
344	A Jonston	Jonston	Andro	merchant	his house	133 2
345		Jonston	James	merchant		40 1
346	A Moore	Cullen	Agnes	widow		30 1
347	Castlehill	Moore	Alexr	merchant	his house	80 2
348	-n.side of gate	Hutchesone	Wm			20 1
349		Noble	Thomas			16 1
350	G Williamson	Gairnes	John	merchant		10 1
351		Robertson	Jonet			10 1
352		Frisell	Michell			40 1

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten
353		Jonston	Robt	merchant		32	1
354		Williamson	Gilbert	merchant		10	2
355	J Englis mt	Kneblo	John	merchant	his sellar	20	1
356		Moysie	Wm			40	1
357	Town's Land	Clerk	James	merchant		4	1
358		Robertson	Mathow			16	1
359		Foster	James	weabster		54	1
360		Donkan	Wm	smyth		20	1
361		Taite	Marion	widow		20	1
362		Freuche	Jonet			6	1
363	J Younger	Galloway	Jeane	widow		20	1
364		Wilkin	Robt	tailor		16	1
365		Finlaye	Arthor	merchant		36	1
366		Chrystie	Agnes	widow		36	1
367		Younger	James		his loaf	10	2
368	D Makall mt	Steinsson	Marion	widow		6	1
369		Scott	John	cordiner		7	1
370		Hamilton	Archd	merchant		40	1
371	Wm Rid mt	Williamson	John			10	1
372		Renold	John	merchant		50	1
373		Smyth	Alexr	merchant		34	1
374	Skinners Close	Moore	Margaret	widow		20	1
375		Moore	James			19	1
376		Lausone	Catherin	widow		6	1
377		Grahame	John	officer		10	1
378		Arbuckles	Robt	skinner		36	1
379		Grahame	Elizabeth	widow		5	1
380		Maklellan	Gilbert	skinner		24	1
381		Porteus	Christian			12	1
382		Stewart	Wm	wrytter		24	1
383		Craig	Issobell			12	1
384		Freuche	Wm	skinner		10	1

APPENDIX SIX

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten'
385		Skinner	Bretheren	skinner	their house	24 2
386		Jonston	Wm	skinner		30 1
387	Somrvell & Grahm	Grahame	Patrick	skinner	his loft	10 2
388		Douglas	James	merchant		30 1
389		Cathkin	Bethia	widow		36 1
390		Klerlands	Issobell	widow		36 1
391		Crafoord	Wm	tailor		30 1
392		Sommervell	Thomas		his house	36 2
393		Ker	George	tailor		30 1
394		Hamilton	Christian	widow		30 1
395		Begg	Archd			24 1
396		Dow	John			24 1
397	J Wilson	Wilson	John	merchant	his house	30 2
398		Cutell	James	merchant		20 1
399		Ritchie	Wm			10 1
400	Sir J Dalgleish	Dalgliesh	John	Sir	his house	2 2
401		Neishe	James			5 1
402		Anderson	Thomas			5 1
403		Laurie	Symon			5 1
404		Gordon	James			40 1
405		Bogg	Peter			10 1
406		Leaget	David	tailor		20 1
407	A Symson	Calleis	Patrik	merchant		50 1
408		Symson	Andro	merchant	his house	133 1
409	J Weill	Weill	James	merchant	his house	66 1
410		Crafoord	David			36 1
411		Wealshe	George			16 1
412		Nottman	Robt	officer		21 1
413	J Baklaye	Fairlie	James	Mr	minister	120 1
414		Sinclare	James	gentleman		48 1
415		Rid	Elizabeth	widow		10 1
416	J Tuedie	Ainslie	Thomas			20 1

St Cuthberts Cess 1635

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten'
417	J Fleiming	Mitchell	Adame	merchant		120 1
418	J Aikenhead	Hall	John	officer		15 1
419		Thomson	Catherin			6 1
420		Anderson	Bessie			20 1
421		Watson	James			20 1
422		Sandilands	John	taylor		20 1
423	J Scott	Scott	Jeane	widow	her house	50 2
424		Wyllie	James			30 1
425		Watterston	Michell			24 1
426	Hope or Flemings	Fleiming	Thomas			20 1
427	J Nairne	Nairne	James	merchant	his house	100 2
428		Denholme	John	merchant		66 1
429	Mr J Lawtie	Lawtie	Mr James	minister	his house	50 2
430	J Tuedie	Tuedie	James	skinner	his house	33 2
431	J Fleming	Fleiming	John	merchant	his house	133 2

APPENDIX VII.

EDINBURGH'S NORTH-WEST, NORTH 1 TAX DISTRICT 1752

As in Appendix VI, the map in the Edinburgh City Archives for the boundaries of the districts for the collection of the local taxes around the year 1752 had indicated that district North-West, North 1, was likely to be in West Kirk or St Cuthberts parish (see fig x). But having compared in the names of the tax payers in this district with those on the 1749-52 Examination Roll for St Cuthberts (CH2/718/212), as in c.1635 the names on the two sources did not coincide. This seems to verify that although the North-West, North 1 tax district appeared to be in St Cuthberts, the tax paying inhabitants of that district were more likely to be residing in an extension of Edinburgh's Toolbooth parish.

Once again the following material could be of value for a wide range of studies, especially for comparison with the data-base assisted study of the same area for the year c.1635 (see Appendix VI). In both data-base studies 9 fields are used. In the 9th field headed 'ten' the number '2' was intended for those who seemed likely to be the main tenants, although here again some of these folk may simply have been the head of a household.

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
1 NW qtr 1st boundJ Lowries wid		Ferrier	David	stabler		100	1
		Smith	Robert	soldier	at Castle	20	1
		Tinny	Robert			7	1
		Dobie	Thomas	cowfeeder		10	1
		Dick	John	mason		8	1
		Kyde	Mathew	workman		6	1
		McCormack	Mr	examiner	excise	80	1
	Baillie Hays Crs	Paterson	Robert	brewer	his house	200	2
		Ramage	John	portwaiter		30	1
		Davis		Mrs		40	1
	J Ranken stbr	Muir	William	stabler		30	1
		Linton	John	cowfeeder		30	1
		Orr	John	stabler		60	1
		Ritchie	James			10	1
		McPherson	John			30	1
		Man	George			15	1
	Donaldsons hrs	Hall		widow		15	1
		Braidwood	John	horsehyrer		34	1
		Auchinleck	William	glover		14	1
		Davidson	George	gents servnt		12	1
		Dudgeon	William			10	1
		Boyd	John			8	1
		Thom	Charles	stabler		14	1
		Graham	Robert	soldier	at Castle	8	1
		Dean	Ann			8	1
		Anderson	John			8	1
		Braidwood	John	stabler		8	1
	J Lithgow	Sharp	John			74	1
		Burd	Edward			10	1
		Clerk	Mr	writer		10	1
		Broun		Mrs		7	1
		Hunter	Robert			5	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
33		Jack	George			4	1
34		Selkrig	Robert			15	1
35		West		Mr		15	1
36		Cleghorn		Mrs		48	1
37	Mrs Hamilton	Robertson	Mr	ganger		28	1
38		Carmichael	William	Mr		30	1
39		McQueen	John	reedmaker		10	1
40		Reed	Thomas	carter		10	1
41		Berry	George			10	1
42		Dickson	Robert	weaver		10	1
43		Cunningham	Alexr	weaver		10	1
44		Armstrong	Thomas	gairdner		18	1
45		Ereskine	Alexr	carter		10	1
46	Aitkin for Armstg	Hamilton	Robert	workman		1st	1
47		Neilson	Gavin			1st	1
48		Smith	David			1st	1
49		Schaw	John	stabler		1st	1
50		Kellie	John			1st	1
51		Booth	James	his relict		1st	1
52		Wilson	George	workman		1st	1
53		Watson	John	poultrierman		1st	1
54		Smith	David			1st	1
55	Weir & Dondsns hrs	Mitchell		widow	aleseller	30	1
56		Lawson	Lucky	washer		8	1
57		Duncanson	Thomas	stabler		62	1
58	J Forrests wid	Stewart	Thomas	brewers svnt		16	1
59		Duncan	Henry	dyer		10	1
60		Wedderspoon	Thomas	wheelwright		10	1
61		Elliot	Thomas	sadler		10	1
62		Craufurd	John	horsehyrer		14	1
63		Graham	David	merchant		40	1
64		Galloway	Alexr	stabler		80	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten'
65		Miller	William	servant	to H Duncan	1
66	A Tweedies hrs	Ereskine	Alexr	smith		50
67		Paul	Alexr	stabler		10
68		Drysdale	James	horsehyrer	& cowfeeder	1
69		Veitch	James	glasier		74
70		Graham	John	taylor		8
71		Bruce	William	merchant	junior	1
72		Cockburn		Mrs		30
73		Somervell	John			10
74		Craufurd	John	workman		18
75		Clerkson	Alexr	stabler		6
76	J Heriot wright	Veitch		Mr	of Diack	12
77		Young	James	barber		4st
78		Craigie	George	tollkeeper		4st
79		Anderson	John	wright		3st
80		Miller	Janet			7
81		Taylor	James	soldier		13
82	Mrs Thomson	Thomson		Mrs		18
83	J Watsons hrs	Paul	Alexr	stabler		6
84	R Hamilton	Alston	Susannah			2
85		Samuel	David	gents srvnt		60
86	Mrs Hamilton	Martin	Janet			50
87		Alston	James	stabler		20
88	Baillie's hrs	Herron	David			6
89		McFarlane	Andrew	stabler		40
90		Meek	Isobell			50
91		Miller	William	mason		84
92	J Moffatt candlm	Smellie	William			8
93		Gilles	Robert			14
94		Osburn	William	soldier	at Castle	10
95		Horseburgh	Thomas			20
96		Craufurd	James			1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
97		Fryer	Isobell			6	1
98		McLean	John			6	1
99		Malcolm	Jean	relict	McIntyre's wid	8	1
100	J Robertson	Calder	Thomas			68	1
101		McGiven	John			40	1
102		Blair	Andro	his widow		30	1
103		McKenzie	Daniel			13	1
104		Bird	James	soldier		15	1
105		Main	David			15	1
106		Fleeming	Andrew			8	1
107		Williamson	John	weaver		8	1
108		Hogg	George	soldier		8	1
109		Fryer	Adam			4	1
110		Fryer	George			4	1
111		Nimmo	William	weaver		18	1
112		Lowrie		widow		8	1
113	Wm Dowie	Richardson	John	merchant		50	1
114		Campbell	Duncan	blewmaker		50	1
115	Dullies hrs	Barr	Robert			80	1
116		McInlay	Janet	Mrs		40	1
117	Lumsdens hrs	McArthur	Mr	ganger		40	1
118		Thomson	James	merchant		60	1
119		Walker	Thomas	taylor		14	1
120		Dunbar	William	stabler		18	1
121		Walker	John	workman		24	1
122	J Jonstons hrs	Gib	James	workman		8	1
123	J Rules hrs	Campbell	John	stabler		42	1
124		Jackson	John			20	1
125		McFarlane	Peter			6	1
126		Crie	Robert	merchant		6	1
127		Hall	Archd	baker		6	1
128		Robertson	John	merchant		6	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten
129		Barrowman	Peter	horsehirer		30	1
130	Clerk or Gray	Johnston	Wm	sheriff officer		30	1
131		Hardie		Mrs	sells ale	20	1
132		Young	William	stabler		98	1
133		Muirhead		Mrs		40	1
134		Henry	Mr	writer		80	1
135		Waterston	Henry	weaver		15	1
136		Aiton	William	merchant		60	1
137		Main		widow		8	1
138		....		soldier	at Castle	6	1
139	Haliburtons hrs	Baillie	John	coppersmith		50	1
140		Mair	Thomas	merchant		50	1
141	Ancrums hrs	Corbetts		Mrs		90	1
142	R Forrester	Forrester	Robert		his house	80	2
143		Steuart		Mrs	widow	80	1
144		Spark		Mrs	ministers wid	34	1
145	J Todds hrs	Gibson	Archd			142	1
146	R McKinlays crs	Ross	Daniel	merchant		60	1
147		Jardine		Mrs	ministers wid	50	1
148		Bruce		Miss		30	1
149		Bruce		Miss		30	1
150	J Scott	Scott	James	merchant	his house	100	1
151	J Hempseed	Hempseed	John		his house	100	2
152	Johnston wid	Nicollson	Thomas	stabler		100	1
153	T Bruce	Bruce	Thomas	writer	his house	80	2
154	Gordon Mrs	Gustart/Key		Mr	minister	100	1
155	T Dewar mt	Dewar	John	Baillie		100	1
156	R Forrester	Bruce & Hmltn		merchants	his house	50	1
157	T Crokatt	Crokatt	Thomas			100	2
158		Dowie	David			80	1
159		Young		Mrs	relict	50	1
160		Davidson	Mr	writer		10	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
161		Napier		Mrs	widow	10	1
162		Hepburn		Mrs	ministers wid	10	1
163	R Sinclairs hrs	Grant	James	merchant		200	1
164	R Veatch	Rankine	Andrew	coppersmith		100	1
165		Stephen	John	hardware mert		15	1
166		Cuming		whipmaker		35	1
167	J Lithgow	Lithgow	James		his house	60	2
168	J Gardners hrs	Hamilton	William	his relict		60	1
169	R Selkrig	Armstrong	William		2 shops	80	1
170	R Milnes hrs	Begbie	George	smith	shop & house	70	1
171		Bell		Mrs		10	1
172		Counter	Jno	pewterer		10	1
173	W.Crokatt b	Butter	James	chapman		30	1
174		Hay	James	tanner		30	1
175		Brandon	John	ganger		8	1
176		....		widow	poor	4	1
177		....		widow	poor	4	1
178	J Hunter	Finlay	John	merchant		50	1
179		Blain		Mrs	widow	60	1
180		Hunter	John	apothocary	his house	100	2
181		Lind	Jean	Mrs		30	1
182		Ereskine		Mrs		30	1
183		Dewar	William	merchant		60	1
184	Mr W.Allans hrs	Dykes	Alexr			10	1
185		Gordon	William	dyer	his workhouse	15	1
186		Watson	Jean			15	1
187	Lady Linlithgow	Young	George	baxter	journyman	20	1
188		Puttullo	William			16	1
189		McLaggan	John	brewers svt		16	1
190		Gibson	David			10	1
191	Lambs hrs	....		soldier	at Castle	15	1
192	J Morisons hrs	Reid		Mrs		20	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
193		Harlie	Mr		merchant	50	1
194		Wright	Alexr	pewterer	house & shop	30	1
195	Wm.Reids hrs	Rutherford	Edward	writer		40	1
196	Ja Stewarts hrs	Scouller	Mrs			20	1
197		Mathison	David	merchant		40	1
198	Wm Moffatt	McMichan	John	merchant	house & shop	140	1
199		McKay	James	coppersmith		24	1
200		Penman		Miss		25	1
201		Steuart		Miss	with above		1
202		Watson	Lilias	Mrs		60	1
203	G Skinners hrs	Murray	Andrew	wigmaker		40	1
204	W Dunbars hrs	Gilchrist	Robert	cooper		60	1
205	Irwinies hrs	Bowie	John	merchant		40	1
206	Jas McGhies hrs	Craufurd	Patrick	merchant		6	1
207	W Forbes W.S.	Milroy	James	merchant		80	1
208	Mr H Maules hrs	Boghall		Lady		80	1
209	Mr Brouns hrs	Johnston		Mrs	ministers wid	40	1
210	T Fairholme	Lindsay	James	messenger		60	1
211		Fairholme	Mrs	& daughters	their house	185	2
212		Bruce	Alexr	merchant		80	1
213		Henderson		Miss	keeps school	40	1
214		Henderson	Andrew			3	1
215	Andw Bells hrs	Pringle		Deacon	skinner	30	1
216		Bake		Mrs		60	1
217		Young		Mrs		20	1
218	Ja Crokatta crs	Murray	Robert	Deacon	skinner	150	1
219	A Wallace	Wallace	Archi		his house	130	2
220	Prov Neilsons hrs	Maitland		Miss	of Pitrichie	200	1
221		Strachan		Mrs		50	1
222	T Dundas	Young		Miss		140	1
223	T Trottar	Trottar	Sarah	merchant	his house	200	2
224	Good Town	Strachan	Thomas	Mrs			1

Weighhouse

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
225 Weighouse		Monro		Mrs		1	1
226 Weighouse		Campbell	Janet			1	1
227 Weighouse		Hill		Mrs		1	1
228 Weighouse		Elder	Janet			1	1
229 Weighouse		Watson	Margaret			1	1
230	Armstrongs hrs	Paxton	John			50	1
231	P Strachan	Strachan	P...	shoemaker	his house	30	2
232	W Gray shoemkr	Walker	Andrew	woolmert		30	1
233	G Clerk	Scotland	John			20	1
234	Prov Steuart	Steuart		Provost	his house	240	2
235		Gordon	John		with above	1	1
236	John Laing	Telfer		baillie		40	1
237	R McMurray	McMurray	Robert		his house	90	2
238	G Clerk	Glen	John	Mr	minister	100	1
239	R Montgomrie	Montgomrie		Miss		90	1
240		Swan		Mrs	woolmercht	10	1
241	Spens	Lindsay	Alexr			50	1
242	R Clerk Commssry	Scotland	John	merchant		100	1
243		Clerk	James	weaver	journyman	10	1
244		Butter	Robert	workman		10	1
245		Butter	John	workman	with above	1	1
246		Napier	Robert	clerk	at weighhouse	60	1
247		Falconar	George	sells ale		40	1
248		Lindsay	Alexr			20	1
249	Lindsays hrs	Hamilton	Mr		of Dalziel	230	1
250		Dunsmure	George	merchant		66	1
251		Carruthers	Mr		writer	60	1
252		Lindsay	Mr	widow	her house?	40	2
253		Muir	William	sells ale		30	1
254		Sandilands	Mark			120	1
255	J Paton	Paton	John	bookseller	his house	100	2
256	Wightmans School	Murray	Mr		charity	70	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
257	Laird Middleton	Whitehill	Richard	workman		30	1
258	Black R Milne	Blair	Charles	goldsmith		40	1
259		....		widow	gentlewoman	60	1
260	Eliz Milne	Fallahill		Lady		60	1
261	Skeens hrs	Walkins		Mr	printinghouse	120	1
262		Michell	John	wright		10	1
263		Allan	Robert	baxter		20	1
264		Thain	Robert	works at	weighouse	15	1
265		Glen	Hugh	works at	weighouse	15	1
266		Somervell	Janet	workwoman		6	1
267		Grant	Charles			10	1
268	A Johnston	McCarter	James	soldier	at Castle	12	1
269		Puntom		widow	sells ale	12	1
270		Davie	John	coppersmith	journyman	14	1
271		Forbes	James	servant to	Lord Advocate	40	1
272		Johnston	Andrew		his house	40	2
273		Mercer		Mrs		10	1
274		Finlayson		widow		10	1
275		Guthrie	George	cobbler		10	1
276	G Elliot	Elliot	Gilbert	Esq.	his house	360	2
277	J Kennedy surg	Love	John	merchant	taylor	30	1
278		Thomson	Robert	sells meal		15	1
279		Reid		widow		15	1
280		Lindsay	Alexr	b[ailie]		70	1
281		Ruddiman	John	taylor		30	1
282		Craig	John	standkeeper	lawnmarket	36	1
283		Gray	Henry	workman		20	1
284		Leslie	James	soldier	at Castle	12	1
285		Davidson	David			15	1
286	Mrs Kenndey	Kennedy		Mrs	her house	80	2
287	A Clerk	Allan	James	sells ale		30	1
288		Hackney	David	sells ale		30	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
289		Dalmahoy		Lady		80	1
290		Todd	Thomas	Mr	merchant	70	1
291		Nicoll		Mrs		70	1
292		Aitchison		goldsmith		80	1
293		Russell	James	taylor		12	1
294	A Dickson	Alison		Mr	writer	120	1
295	G Foulis	Foulis	George		his house	150	2
296		Dawson		Mr	carver	100	1
297		Douglas	William			50	1
298		Stevenson	Andrew	wright		10	1
299		Newton	William	weaver		10	1
300		....		several	poor people	30	1
301	R Somerville	....		as above			1
302	A Chalmers	Pargillis	Marion			10	1
303		Broun	James	weaver		30	1
304		Gordon		Mrs	widow	40	1
305		Oliphant		weaver		40	1
306	Earl Dumfries	Dumfries		Earl of	his house		2
307	Alx Brands hrs	Kennedy		Mrs		100	1
308		Blackwood		Mrs		60	1
309	John Adam	Smith	William		in chancery	150	1
310	G Hamilton	Hamilton	Gordon		his house	400	2
311	Dr Boswell	Boswell		Doctor	his house	150	2
312	Moffatts hrs	Nimmo	Richard	bookbinder		44	1
313	Mr A Webster	Webster	Alexr	Mr	his house	400	2
314	Mr Wm Hogg	Hogg	William	Mr	his house	300	2
315	Baillie Baird hrs	Baird	William	Mr	their house		2
316		Hamilton	Hugh	Sir		150	1
317	Wm Shaw mert	Bonnar	Andrew	merchant		190	1
318		Dirrleton		Lady		240	1
319		Blackadder		Miss		40	1
320		Miller		Mr	painter	40	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
321		Mirralees	Ann	Mrs	widow	30	1
322		Bannatine	Betty	Mrs		12	1
323		Reid	David	widow		20	1
324		Wight	Archibald	Mr	writer	130	1
325		Blair		Mrs	his house	80	2
326		Home	Hugh		ministers wid	16	1
327		Lisle	William	Mr	engraver	8	1
328		Smith				30	1
329		Colburn	Alexr	Mrs		30	1
330		Durham	Andrew	sells ale		30	1
331		Aberdour	John	sells ale		10	1
332		Gardner	John			50	1
333		Hyslop	John	founder		80	1
334	Founding House	Milne	William	Esq			2
335	Founding House	Baird	Robert	his relict		5st	1
336	....	Hope	Allan		their house	60	2
337		Ramsay	Mrs	wife of	his house	120	2
338		Johnston	Alexr	weaver	messenger	15	1
339		Stoddart	Alexr	Mrs	journyman	15	1
340		Fraser	Alexr	taylor	seamster	8	1
341		Orme	Peter			10	1
342		Walker	Alexr	limner		18	1
343		Guthrie		Mrs	her house	80	1
344		Stevenson	John			50	2
345		Watson	James	clerk	in Excise	10	1
346		Menzie	John	writer		80	1
347		Semphill	Peter	widow		50	1
348		Livingston		soldier		10	1
349	Skinner land	Craufurd		Captain	at Castle	24	1
350	....	Campbell	John	Mrs	of City Guard	70	1
351		Lindsay		workman		70	1
352		Howie				14	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
353		Allan		Mrs		10	1
354		Riddley	Andrew			8	1
355		Moodie	James	soldier	at Castle	3st	1
356	P Hutchison	Cant		Mrs	lintdresser	3st	1
357		Sibbald	Patrick	wright		30	1
358		Davidson	Mary			6	1
359		Hunter	William			6	1
360		Campbell	Alexr	workman		12	1
361		Nicoll	James			6	1
362		Watson	Henry			7	1
363		Dryburgh	Alexr			24	1
364		Hutchison	Patrick		his house	23	2
365		Geddes	James	workman		20	1
366		Wilson	William	shoemaker		30	1
367		Davidson	James	soldier	at Castle	35	1
368		Campbell	Alexr	soldier	at Castle	35	1
369	H Elliots hrs	McIntire		servant	to Mr Lyons	30	1
370	P Middletons hrs	Craufurd		servant	to gentleman	20	1
371		Simpson		Mrs	midwife	30	1
372		Bell		widow		30	1
373		Low	Henry	soldier		12	1
374	G Cuninghams surg	Ramsay	William	Mr		120	1
375	Lord Semphill	Semphill		Lord	his house	360	2
376	A Jollies hrs	Gibson	Isobell			18	1
377		Gibson	David	at above	sells ale		1
378		Lindsay	Alexr			18	1
379		Miller	Baillie	his relict		60	1
380		Nicollson	Alexr	plumber		60	1
381		Jollie	Alexander	his heirs	their house	30	2
382		Gaul	John			16	1
383		Ramsay	William			6	1
384	A Keith	Keith	Archi		his shop	36	2

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten
385		Waddell	Barbara		at above	1	1
386		Waddell	Cathrine		at above	1	1
387		Philp	James			20	1
388	Ballerwells hrs	Steel	John jnr	baxter	sells ale	20	1
389	T Shiells hrs	Steuart	Mr		hatmaker	10	1
390	Wm Todd	Todd	William	merchant	his house	36	2
391		....		poor widow	with 5 childh	24	1
392		Dempster	Andrew			24	1
393		Haswell	Alexr	works in	weighouse	10	1
394	Jo Dunn	Dunn	Jo.		his house	120	2
395	J Cleland	Cleland	John		hi house	60	2
396	T Shiells hrs	Shiells		Mrs	their house	60	2
397	J Dun	Walker	John	works in	weighouse	24	1
398		Hunter	Robert			18	1
399	Elliot	Bodie	John	lintdresser		20	1
400		Steuart	Alexr	gents servnt		30	1
401		Bryan		baxter		30	1
402	G Forbes	Forbes	George	of Muirhead	his house	30	2
403		Shiells	Hugh	wigmaker		30	1
404		Taylor	Alexr	shoemaker		20	1
405	W Sibbald	Laing		gents servnt		20	1
406		Sibbald	William	wright	his house	40	2
407		White	Peter	clerk	to Mr Tod	26	1
408		Henderson	Isobell			10	1
409	J Steuart	Steuart	John		his house	80	2
410	Baillie Nairns hrs	Forbes	Betty	Mrs	board-school	80	1
411		Lawrence		Mrs	with above	80	1
412		Esplene	Mary		widow	80	1
413	Mrs Simpson	Hay		Mrs		80	1
414	C Blair goldsmith	Henderson	Christine			30	1
415	Mill	Mill	John	shoemaker		30	1
416	J Irwing	Irwing	Jo		his house	80	2

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
417	Christ Knoxs hrs	Crocks	William	baxter		30	1
418	Laird Blyth	Campbell	William	goldsmith		60	1
419		McQueen		workman		14	1
420		Scotland	John			30	1
421		....		gents servnt		10	1
422	Johnstons hrs	Dowall	Christain	Mrs		240	1
423		Mckay		advocate	with above		1
424	Wm Gustart	Moncur	Mrs			30	1
425		Swan	Mrs			30	1
426	W Braidwood	Braidwood	William		his house	90	2
427	H Guthrie	Orrock	Robert	wigmaker		60	1
428	J Laing	Laing	John		his house	40	2
429	W Galloway	Keddy	Thomas	baxter	journymn	30	1
430	Brounhill	Duncan		Mrs	poor wid	60	1
431		Watson		Mrs	keeps school	60	1
432		Lounie	William	upholsterer		40	1
433		Sutherland	Sidney			8	1
434		McEwen		widow	on charity	40	1
435		Hepburn		Mrs		20	1
436	G Clerk	Lindsay	Alexr			75	1
437		Little	Francis	wright		15	1
438	J Forrest	Forrest	John	merchant	his house	250	2
439		Grieg	Mr		writer	40	1
440	H Hunter baxter	Watkins	Adrian	stationer		180	1
441	Wm Walker	Walker	William	writer	his house	50	2
442	P Cuming	Cuming	Patrick	Mminister	his house	200	2
443	Mr Websters hrs	Lindsay	Peter	merchant		200	1
444	Blackadders hrs	Dundass	John	writer		200	1
445	J Fraser	Fraser	John	writer	his house	180	2
446	Wm Walker	Arundale		widow		20	1
447	Sir J Johnston	Hamilton	Mr		Wtr Signet	180	1
448	Halbert Monro	Boyce	Thomas			180	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
449	Anderson	McCauley		Provost		180	1
450	J Henry's hrs	Broadfoot		Mrs		75	1
451		McNiven	Dugald	gents servt		20	1
452	Orphan Hospital	Stephens		Miss		80	1
453	T Graham	Ross	William	Mr	writer	80	1
454	J Forbes	Forbes	John		his house	60	2
455		Forbes		as above	his sisters		2
456	B. W Hamilton	Welsh	John	Goldsmith		60	1
457	B. Chas Hope	Niven	James	workman		20	1
458	Weighhousemen	McGrigor	Hugh	sells ale		40	1
459		Nimmo	Elizabeth			30	1
460	P Blairs hrs	Douglas	William	baxter		60	1
461		Watt	Kenneth			25	1
462	M Ogilvie	Ogilvie	Malcom		his house	70	2
463		Tyrie	Alexr	works at	weighhouse	30	1
464	Langland	Dunning	Alexr	bookseller		180	1
465	T Weirs hrs	Logan	George	Mr	minister	180	1
466	J Douglas	Wauchope		Mrs		180	1
467	M Broun	Haliburton		Mr	writer	180	1
468	A Blair	Stonebyres		Lady		180	1
469	J Mitchellson	Mitchellson	James		his house	141	2
470	J Watson	Watson	John		his house	180	2
471	A Burnet	Burnet	Andrew	writer	his house	140	2
472	Patrns of Kirktn	Preston	George	his sisters	his house	150	1
473	A Chalmer	Robertson		Miss		120	1
474	J Johnstons hrs	Nasmith		Mrs		40	1
475	A Lindsays hrs	Swan		Mrs		30	1
476		Scotland	John			30	1
477	R Murray	Dunbar	William	barber		40	1
478		Murray	Robert	merchant		20	2
479		Gowan	William	glasier		10	1
480	Watsons hrs	Lowden	James	skinner		40	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
481	J Russells hrs	Russell	William	Mrs	their house	60	2
482	J Johnstons hrs	Dundas	James	servant	to Mr Watkins	50	1
483		Johnston	Mr[s]	skinner	midwife	50	1
484	J Laing	Louden	Margaret			40	1
485	Wm Clerk barb	Currie				25	1
486	H Elliots hrs	Ramsay	William	Mrs	setts rooms	7st	1
487	Wm Govan	Spence		painter		30	1
488	Wm Hogg	Anderson		widow		12	1
489		Wright	Mary				1
490	Johnstons hrs	Murray	Adam	baxter		90	1
491		Barclay	John	skinner		30	1
492		Vallance	Alexr	merchant		30	1
493		Fenn	Thomas	ingraver		80	1
494		Thom		Mrs		50	1
495	J Bald	Wardrop	Mary			60	1
496	Thomsons hrs	Campbells		Miss		50	1
497		Ross		soldier	at Castle	12	1
498		Young	Thomas	upholsterer		20	1
499		Robertson	Thomas	soldier	at Castle	16	1
500		Gray	William	sullyman		40	1
501		Davidson	Isobell			12	1
502		Pringle		widow		12	1
503		Couper	Mrs	keeps a	callander	40	1
504	James Court	McMillan	Alexr	writer	his chamber	20	2
505		Scott	Frances	writer	his house	50	2
506		Newhall		Lady		60	1
507		Newhall		as above	her daughters		1
508	Jo Dundas	Dick	Mr		advocate	140	1
509	Lady Cullens hrs	Grant	Francis			160	1
510		Grant		as above	his sisters		1
511	Baxters Corp.	Lamote	Mr		dancing school	300	1
512	Cunningham	Cunningham	George		his house	200	2

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten'
513	G Balfour	Montgomerie	Mr	Mr	advocate	200 1
514		Montgomerie		as above	his sisters	1
515	G Livingstons hrs	Young	John	writer		200 1
516		Broun	Mr	Mr	of Blackford	100 1
517	J Steuart	Steuart	James	attorney	his house	300 2
518		Gray	Mr	Mr	writer	100 1
519	Sir J Campbell	Buchan	Thomas			220 1
520	A Innes	McGhie	William	merchant		150 1
521	A McDowall	McDowall	Andrew	writer	his house	200 2
522	T Baillie	Baillie	Thomas		his house	180 2
523	R Pringles hrs	McLean	Hector	writer		60 1
524	W Hamilton	Hamilton	William	bookseller	his house	180 2
525	J Skeens hrs	Skeen	James		their house	180 2
526	W Wallace	Wallace	William	advocate	his house	200 2
527	A Murray	Murray	Archd	Advocate	his house	200 2
528	Pittravie	Pittravie			his house	240 2
529	Laird Troup	Troup		Lady	their house	300 2
530		McDowall	John	in the	exchequer	100 1
531	J Armour	Yair	John	bookseller		120 1
532	Lethems hrs	Alston	John	writer	his house	300 2
533	A McMillan	McMillan	Alexr		his house	300 2
534	T Goldies hrs	Goldie	Alexr	Wtr Signet	their house	2
535	A Campbell	Campbell	Archd	writer	his house	240 2
536	A Gray	Gray	Alexr	Clerk Depute	his house	200 2
537	Steuart & Laing	Scotts	Miss's	merchants		60 1
538	S Gowan	Gowan	Stephen		his house	60 2
539	W Gowan	Gowan	William	glasier	his house	70 2
540	Whistlands hrs	Graham	David	barber		115 1
541		Steven	Mr	accountant	to Old Bank	85 1
542		Mitchell	Thomas	goldsmith		50 1
543		Lindsay	James			70 1
544		Sinclair	Angus			30 1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
545		Scotland	John	bookbinder		30	1
546	A Baxters wid	Scott		Mrs	sells ale	40	1
547		McLean	Malcolm			40	1
548		Cranston	Helen			20	1
549		Monro	Daniel	cobbler		12	1
550	W Todd	Todd	William		his house	60	2
551		Burton	James	Mr	with W Todd		1
552		Somervill			with W Todd		1
553	A Thomsons hrs	Thomson	Robert			6	1
554 NW qtr 2nd bound	Gladstones hrs	Noble	Alexr	candlemaker		80	1
555	-or A Monro	Pillans		Miss		90	1
556		Eizat	Neil	sells ale		45	1
557		Smith	John	wright	journyman	20	1
558		Albert	Monro		his house	90	2
559		Begg	Allan	merchant		75	1
560	Gladsones hrs	Greenless	Robert	merchant		140	1
561	-or J Mntgomrie	Hume	Andrew	accountant		110	1
562	Gladstones hrs	Robertsons				130	1
563		Robertsons		Miss's	milliners		
564	-or G Langlands	Erskine	Charles	Mr	Advocate	120	1
565	Dr Forrests hrs	Hunter		Miss	of Whitsled	95	1
566		Reid		Mrs	merchant	90	1
567	Dalrymples hrs	Dalrymple	Barron	his Lady	their house	190	2
568	W Aikmans hrs	Forbes	Hugh	Mr	Clk of Session	260	1
569		Fisher		Mrs	wrights widow	40	1
570	R Gibsons hrs	Brymen	George	taylor		40	1
571		Thomson		Miss		30	1
572		Sutherland		Mrs		50	1
573	-now D McDonald	McDonald	Duncan	druggist	his house	60	2
574		Campbell		Miss		30	1
575	-now G Drummond	Drummond	George	wht ironsmith	his house	40	2
576	J Nasmiths hrs	Kinneir	Andrew	poulterer		50	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
577		Johnston	Kathrin			10	1
578	J Knoxs hrs	Hepburn	William	surgeon		80	1
579	J Cross hrs	Knox		Miss		120	1
580		Hume	Jean	Miss		110	1
581	J Wilkie	Thomsons		Miss's	mantymakers	50	1
582	J Robertsons hrs	Robertson	Mrs	landlady	their house	50	2
583		Joyce		Mr	writer	20	1
584		Grierson		Mr	merchant	50	1
585		Saidler	James			10	1
586		Fisher		genrl srvnt		30	1
587	Sir J Dicks hrs	Gib		Miss		10	1
588	Hendersons hrs	Anderson		Mrs		40	1
589	-or J Lothian	Denholm	James			10	1
590		Johnston	Kathrin		a garret	60	1
591		Lothian	James		his house	40	2
592	W Gib	Gib			her house	40	1
593	G Idlies hrs	Hunter		Mrs		10	1
594		Beath	William			10	1
595		Willson		widow		10	1
596		Ker	James	cobler		10	1
597		Turnbull	David			10	1
598		Bathie	William			10	1
599		Redpath	John	genrl servnt		25	1
600	J Knoxs hrs	Chrystie	Alexr	workman		16	1
601		Knox	Miss		their house	60	2
602		Broun		Mr	alias Norris	50	1
603		Thomson	Alexr			6	1
604	J Wardropes hrs	Spence		Mrs		30	1
605		Morrison	Robert			12	1
606		Willson		Mrs		30	1
607		Broun	John			30	1
608		Inglis	Hugh	wright		66	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
609		Wardrope		Baillie	his house	68	2
610	J Hendersons hrs	Wattson	Thomas	sells ale		60	1
611		Rob	James			60	1
612		Robertson	Alexr	genrl servnt		60	1
613	D Knoxs hrs	Knox		Mrs	their house	60	2
614	J Brouns hrs	McCulloch	William	merchant		70	1
615		Ritchie	Alexr	merchant		50	1
616		Dallas	Betty			10	1
617	T Edgars hrs	McKenna	James			50	1
618	-or E Inglis	Hepburns		Miss's	milliners	50	1
619		Inglis	Edward		his house	100	2
620	D Denholms hrs	Kinaldies		Lady		130	1
621		Ferrier	Isobel			10	1
622	D Brouns hrs	Dirie	Alexr			60	1
623		Buchan	William	sells ale		60	1
624	R Gray	Gray	Robert		his house	130	2
625	J Finlayson	Finlayson	James	writer	his house	40	2
626	J Wardropes hrs	Wardrope		Mrs	their house	50	2
627		Inglis	Hugh	wright		20	1
628		Campbell		Mrs		100	1
629		Rutherford		Miss		20	1
630	D Spence	Spence	James			160	1
631	J Cuninghame	Cuninghame	John		his house	180	2
632	Syme for Batram	Syme	Alexr	writer	his house	180	2
633	J Philp	Philp	John		his house?	180	2
634	W Drummond	Dick	George	advocate		180	1
635	J Wardropes hrs	Murray	William	letter carrier		40	1
636	D Brouns hrs	Hardie	Henry	baxter		70	1
637	J Hendersons hrs	Henderson	....		their house	60	1
638	A Tytlers hrs	Gellatly	William	merchant		66	1
639	D Brouns hrs	Bertram				95	1
640		Williamson			with above		1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
641		Nicoll	John	baxter	his widow	50	1
642	Temples hrs	McGrougar	Thomas	merchant		90	1
643		Barrowman	John			40	1
644		McLure	John	master	writing	80	1
645		Paull	William	staymaker		70	1
646	D Brouns hrs	Brown	Mrs		their house	80	2
647		Bowie	Thomas	baxter		90	1
648	J Robertsns hrs	Forbes	William			60	1
649	Miss M Wilson	Wauch	James			200	1
650		Scott	William	merchant		100	1
651	Dr G Young	Young	George	doctor	his house?	170	2
652		Thomson			a garret	10	1
653	W Hogg	Hogg	Walter	& Co.	his house?	90	2
654		Lithgow	Mrs			20	1
655		Law	Janet			10	1
656	G Riddell	Baillie	William	wright		120	1
657	J Dundas	Hay	Lady			100	1
658	Miss M Wilson	Willson	Mary	Miss	her house	200	2
659	P of Kirktons hrs	Bogle	Mrs			80	1
660	-or R Lithgow	Lithgow	Robert		his house	60	2
661	W Loch	Loch	William	writer	his house	200	2
662	W Miller	Miller	Thomas	advocate		240	1
663	P of Kirktons hrs	Houston	John	writer		120	1
664		Mercer	Mrs			60	1
665		Dalglish	John	watchmaker		60	1
666		Colvin	Mr			10	1
667	J Thomsons hrs	Lind	doctor		his house	120	2
668	-or Dr Lind	Dalrymple	Mr		advocate	80	1
669	J Hendersons hrs	Duncan	John			60	1
670		Hay	James	Wtr Signet		140	1
671		Dunsmore	Samuel			30	1
672	Boswell hrs now	Glasgow		Countess of	her house	100	2

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
673	A Currier	Boyd	Robert	merchant		100	1
674	W Mathison	Gillespie	James	sells ale		60	1
675	Hastie now Hunter	Hunter	Andrew	Mrwriter	his house	220	2
676	P McDoualls hrs	McDouall		Mrs	their house	80	2
677	W Hendersons hrs	Findlayson		Mrs		130	1
678	J More	Wightman		Mrs		120	1
679		Cunningham	James	baxter		80	1
680		Gairdner	Kathrin			60	1
681		Gairdner			her sister		1
682	Hedrwk now Douglas	Douglas	William	writer	his house	70	2
683	T Hederwick	Hederwick	Thomas		his house	50	2
684		Fife	John	merchant		50	1
685	B.Robertsons wid	Robertson		Mrs	her house	100	2
686		Sime	David	merchant	part above		1
687		Broun	William	wright	journyman	16s	1
688		Naughton	Alexr			30s	1
689	-now G Ro'tson	Robertson	John			60	1
690	Euing of Crgtn	Niccoll		Mrs		20	1
691	J Pringles hrs	Condon	Hugh	baxter		40	1
692	P Crichton	Roberston	Eleonora	Miss		80	1
693	Gray or J Mein	Fish	John	merchant		80	1
694	Chlmrs now Jamsn	Jameson	Robert	merchant		40	1
695	Euing of Craightn	Malcolm	Charles			90	1
696		Parton		Lady		90	1
697		Redpath	James	baxter		20	1
698	J Geenless hrs	Anderson	Duncan			15	1
699	Mathsn for Haliday	Mathison		Mrs	her house	40	2
700	Edinbrg baxters	Allan	Robert		& others	80	1
701		Midlemist	John		& others	80	1
702	G Hamiltons hrs	McLeish	Ann			10	1
703	A Carmichls hrs	Purvis		Lady		120	1
704	G Hamiltons hrs	Hill	Thomas	tanner		40	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
705	C Bruce	Cudie	Robert	baxter	jounyman	40	1
706	Bogle now Mein	Mein	John	sclater		160	1
707	J Wallaces hrs	Noble	Robert	shoemaker		120	1
708	J Clelland hrs	Steil	James	merchant	& grocer	60	2
709	T Hederwick	Stenhouse	John	merchant		60	1
710	J Cuningham	Marshall	David	writer		70	1
711	W Blackwoods hrs	Cumming	Alexr	cook		40	1
712	W Scotts hrs	Hall		Mrs		60	1
713	D Crockatts hrs	Crockatt		Mrs	their house	30	2
714	Hastie now Forrest	Forrest		Mrs	her house	30	2
715	J Greenless hrs	Broun	Robert	taylor		65	1
716		Stewart		Mrs		40	1
717		Greenlees		Mrs	their house	65	2
718	Broun for Eizat	Lothian	George	merchant		60	1
719	J Crosbies hrs	Mezies		Mrs		70	1
720		Broun		Miss		70	1
721		English		Miss		50	1
722		Bucklie	Francis			50	1
723	Cap Brouns hrs	Drummond		Mr		36	1
724	D Brouns hrs	Euing		Mrs		40	1
725		Broun		Mrs	their house	100	2
726		Burnet	Adam	wright		20	1
727		Lithgow		waiter		30	1
728		....		waterman		6	1
729	R Murrays hrs	Broun	William	shoemaker		30	1
730	J Gallowys hrs	Drummond	Patrick	merchant		120	1
731		Jaffrey	Francis	wigmaker		80	1
732		Goodwillie	Mr		writer	60	1
733		Dewar	Robert	writing	master	60	1
734		Smith	Margaret			30	1
735	E Cuningham	Bell	Alexr	wigmaker		140	1
736	Marshl or Walkr	Brodie	Mr		surgeon	130	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
737	L Brodie	Brodie	Ludovick	writer	his house	120	2
738	Wm Lambs hrs	Begbie	George	baxter		100	1
739	Jas Wilsons hrs	Yerston		Miss		80	1
740		Johnston	Robert			60	1
741	Mrs Stewart hrs	Kid	James	merchant		80	1
742	J Spiers hrs	Speirs		Mrs	their house	40	2
743		Dowie	William			30	1
744		Fettes	John	merchant		80	1
745	J Wallaces hrs	Tweedie		Miss		40	1
746		Marshall		Miss	with above		1
747	Mrs Halidays hrs	Gaw	Peter	messenger		30	1
748		Smith	Charles	servant		10	1
749	Jas Burns hrs	Burns		Mrs	their house?	40	2
750	John Dunbar	Dunbar	John	glover		40	1
751		Campbell	James			10	1
752	Wm Euings hrs	Ross	Mr		Clk Depute	60	1
753	J English	Calowrie	Lady			90	1
754	G for A Dunbar hrs	Dunbar	George	merchant	his house	80	2
755		Paterson	John	merchant		30	1
756	T Youngs hrs	Wright	Robert	merchant		80	1
757	W Robertsns hrs	Boyd	George	merchant		80	1
758		Redpath		Mrs		60	1
759		Bengall	Thomas			20	1
760		Hatten		Mrs		40	1
761		Mitchell	William	merchant		40	1
762		Euart		Mrs	or J Kilpatr:	40	1
763		Donaldson	Robert	glover		40	1
764		Murray		wright	journeyman	10	1
765		Selkrigs		Miss	milliners	60	1
766	McGhie now Stewart	Stewart	William	writer	his house	80	2
767	H Hepburns hrs	Pitcairn	George	merchand		160	1
768		Murdochs		Miss's	milliners	140	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
769	Carthrs now Walkr	Walker	Robert	surgeon	his house	220	2
770		Black	John	merchant	part above		1
771	Kennedy or Wemys	Weemys	Miss	mantymaker	her house	100	2
772	Dr Ro'tsons hrs	Gordon	William	stationer		80	1
773	Mrjbns or Martn	Martin	Alexr	herauld	his house	120	2
774	Hay or Gil' Clerk	Law	Mrs			60	1
775	R Bowle	Brand	John	merchant		100	1
776		Henderson	Miss			60	1
777	Frog or Ja Fife	Black	Miss			50	1
778		Paul	Miss		with above		1
779	R Frog	Seller	John	sells ale		50	1
780	William Tod	Tod	William	merchant	his house	100	2
781	Scoulars hrs	Young	Thomas	surgeon		50	1
782	T Youngs hrs	Young	Mrs		their house?	200	2
783	Jas Burns hrs	Bryson	John			40	1
784		Cleghorn	Betty			10	1
785		Dunsmure	John			120	1
786		Dunsmure	George		with above		1
787	D Brouns hrs	Douglas	Archd	merchant		120	1
788		Dunsmure	Margaret			50	1
789	Wm Huttons hrs	Sterling	Alexr	merchant		100	1
790		Jackson	Christian			40	1
791	J Speirs hrs	Bowie	Patrick	merchant		100	1
792	Gairnlocks hrs	Kirkland	Mrs			60	1
793		Crawford	Mrs			20	1
794		....		old soldier	a garret	8	1
795		....		a workman		6	1
796		Gray		widow		10	1
797	David Reids hrs	Leslie	Charles			60	1
798		Muir	Jean			10	1
799	Scott now Forbes	Forbes	David	writer	his house	120	2
800	Alex Glass hrs	Ogstone	Mrs			120	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
801	T Jameson	Frogg	Robert			100	1
802	D Callanders hrs	Thomson	Peggie	Mrs		120	1
803	W Rutherford hrs	Sutherland	Mr		surgeon	110	1
804	Lothian for Lundin	Lothian	Edward	goldsmith	his house	120	1
805	G Grant	Malcom	Mrs			120	1
806	J Russells hrs	Russell	Miss		their house?	120	2
807	W Mathisons hrs	Young	William	writer		70	1
808	P Anderson hrs	Cuming	Miss			100	1
809		Schaw	Alexr	writer		70	1
810	G Nicoll	Nicoll	George		his house	80	2
811	J Tait	Gellie	George	baxter		36	1
812	A Henderson	Henderson	Alexr		his house	80	1
813	T Cleghorns hrs	Davidson	John	Mr	wtr Signet	60	1
814		Galherer	John	servant		20	1
815	W Browns hrs	Hepburn	Patrick	writer		100	1
816		Manwell	Hugh	writer		100	1
817		More	John	bookbinder		60	1
818		Brown		Mrs	her house	100	2
819		Smitton	Alexr	bookbinder		100	1
820	Gavinlocks hrs	McDouall	Alexr	servant	to brewer	25	1
821	Steedman or Ross	Black	John	merchant		70	1
822	Rob for Young	Marshall	Francis			30	1
823	A Jameson	Smith	William			30	1
824	Howisn now Jhnstn	Johnston	Thomas		his house	60	2
825		Johnston	Jean			40	1
826		Roberston	Thomas	wigmaker		50	1
827	Alkman & now Ged	Borthwick	Mrs			110	1
828		Ged	Dougall		his house	110	2
829	A Guthries hrs	Williamson	Joseph	Mr	advocate	360	1
830	Craig now Broun	Broun	George	of Colston	his house	300	2
831	J Craig now Ged	Miekie	Thomas	sells,ale		30	1
832		Coutts	benjamine		with above		1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten'
833	Geo Mains hrs	Young		Mr	Messrs	200 1
834		Trotter		Mr	with above	1
835	Lvngstn & Grenyrd	McKenna	John			40 1
836		Greive	John	merchant		70 1
837		Clelland	Peter	vintner		200 1
838		Willson	Robert	sells ale		30 1
839	J Pattons hrs	Johnston	Jean			30 1
840		Patton	Thomas		their house?	50 2
841		Duffes	Alexr			20 1
842		Claperton	William	merchant		60 1
843		Richardson	George	writer		100 1
844	J Schaw	Johnston	Thomas	merchant		40 1
845	Sir J Justice hrs	Lamond	John			40 1
846		Elphingston		Mrs		24 1
847		Donaldson		Mrs		5 1
848		Walker		Mrs		30 1
849		Wattson	Robert	junior	merchant	30 1
850		Lindsay		Mrs		36 1
851		McMillan	Archi			10 1
852		Smith	James	glover		30 1
853	Gray now Mansfield	Welsh	John			50 1
854	Mnsfld for Foulis	Clelland	John	merchant		70 1
855		Burns		Miss		70 1
856		Findlayson		Miss	with above	1
857	Deacon Penman	Smith		Mrs		30 1
858	Grahm now Mnsfld	Mansfield	James	& Co.	his house	460 2
859	Laird Pencthland	Taylor	William	merchant		180 1
860	Jas Russell	Russell	James	surgeon	his house?	220 2
861	Wm Murray	Murray	William	merchant	his house?	120 2
862	Nimmo & Lithgow	Butter	Charles	merchant		100 1
863		Wradrope		Miss		35 1
864	Cockburn & Hope	Hope	John	merchant	his house	200 2

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
865	Oliver Tod	Kay		Miss		80	1
866		Wattson	Robert	junior		150	1
867		Tod	Oliver	landlord	his house	150	2
868	James Setton	Gairdner		Mrs		50	1
869	J Parkhills hrs	Robertson	James	merchant		100	1
870	John Hoggride	Forrester	John	writer		50	1
871	Jas Farquhar	Farquhar	James	merchant	his house	300	2
872		Drummond	Blair-	Lady		240	1
873		Porterfield		Doctor		160	1
874		Wood	William	surgeon		100	1
875	Mrs Hary Hume	Caimes		Lord		350	1
876	Hume for Arthur	Russell	Robert	merchant		60	1
877	Mrs Baine	Livingston	George	vintner		100	1
878	A Arthurs hrs	Caithness	Edward	merchant		100	1
879	Dalrymples hrs	Bell		widow		20	1
880	Stewart or Butter	Butter	Charles	merchant	his house	120	2
881	John Angus hrs	Angus		Mrs	their house	50	2
882	Sir J Stewarts hrs	Grant	William	Mr	Lord Advocate	350	1
883		White		Mrs		60	1
884		Mcintosh		Mr	advocate	150	1
885		McCoull	Archi	merchant		60	1
886	J Scougalls hrs	Scougall		Mrs	their house	80	2
887		Wake		Mrs	with above		1
888		Barclay	Robert	taylor		110	1
889	Deacon Penman	Bowie	Patrick	merchant		90	1
890	John Blairs hrs	Walker	Richard	vintner		330	1
891	Hugh Crawford	Seaton		Miss	merchants	150	1
892		Cargill		Miss	with above		1
893	A Hepburn	Hepburn	Alexr	merchant	his house	150	2
894		Murray	Patrick	merchant		80	1
895	Jas Deans hrs	Scott		Messrs	merchants	180	1
896		Stewart		Messrs	with above		1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
897		Campbell	Archi	merchant		160	1
898	Robt Kinnier	Slekrig	Robert	merchant		140	1
899	J Ferguson	Ferguson	Mr James	Advocate	his house	400	2
900	Sir G Humes hrs	Black	John	sells ale		10	1
901	Robt Menzies	Craig		Mrs	of Rickarton	200	1
902		Menzies	Robert	Writer	Signethis house	120	2
903	Walt Humes hrs	Hume	David		his shop	80	2
904	R Swintons hrs	Angus	Archi	merchant		200	1
905	James Armour	Welsh	James			90	1
906		Murray		Miss		90	1
907		Lindsay		Miss	with above		1
908	Daniel Setton	Setton	Daniel	merchant	his house	350	2
909	Forrest	Nairne	George			30	1
910	Jon Penmans hrs	Roe	John	weaver	journeyman	24	1
911		McEwing	James			8	1
912		Hunter	Betty			24	1
913		McIntosh	James			6	1
914		Broun		Mrs		24	1
915		Stephen		Widow		12	1
916		Christie	Alexr			6	1
917		Murray	Thomas	chairman		6	1
918	David Henderson	Falconer	Peter	Gen servant		40	1
919		Reid		Mrs		30	1
920	Jas Clerks hrs	Govan	Walter	waterman		10	1
921		Nicoll	John	wright	journeyman	30	1
922		Willson	Gilbert	turner		20	1
923		Taylor		widow		6	1
924	Wm Mitchells hrs	Mitchell	John	bookbinder	their house?	50	2
925		Alexander	Alexr			10	1
926		Herdman		widow		10	1
927	James Armour	Patterson	George			20	1
928	J Marjoribanks	Dundas	Ralph	merchant		200	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
929		Taylor	John			120	1
930		Sked	John	vinthner		350	1
931	Willm Dons hrs	Gairdner		vinthner		120	1
932		Piccard		Monsr	fencing mast	40	1
933	John Dunbar	Stirling	Alexr	Miss		60	1
934	John Traill	Hepburn				60	1
935	Baillie Telfer	McKenna	John	merchant		50	1
936	Wm Dons hrs	Murray		Mrs		40	1
937		Duncan		gen servant		30	1
938		Ross	William	printer	journeyman	10	1
939		Swan		Mrs	merchant	40	1
940	Entrikens hrs	Callander		Messrs	merchants	130	1
941		Hamilton		Messrs	with above		1
942	Allison	Kinnier	Robert	merchant		130	1
943		Boag		Miss	merchants	40	1
944		Husband		Miss	with above		1
945	Richd Lothian	Richardson		Miss		100	1
946		Fife	John	merchant		60	1
947	Patricks hrs	Guthrie		Mrs		160	1
948	John Blairs hrs	Hay		Doctor		120	1
949	Nic Spences hrs	Mcintosh	Robert	writer		100	1
950	John Jollys hrs	Dakers	James			30	1
951	James Setton	Dickson	Charles	goldsmith		80	1
952		Goodale		Mrs		24	1
953		Setton		Baillie	his house	100	2
954		....		guard	soldier	14	1
955	W Christies hrs	Jameson	Andrew	merchant		40	1
956		Smith	William	baxter		40	1
957		Murray		Mrs	manty maker	30	1
958		Stewart	David			20	1
959	J Christies hrs	Herdman	John			14	1
960	Mr Patton minister	Brymer				30	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
961		Loranie	William			20	1
962		Corstorphin	John			8	1
963		Millar	Alexr			20	1
964		Mushett	Archi			8	1
965		Forrester	Alexr			10	1
966		Birrell	George			8	1
967		Falconer	Thomas			10	1
968		Walker	James			10	1
969		Robertson	Daniel			15	1
970		Oliphant	Robert			8	1
971		Broun	Robert	glover		30	1
972		....		guard	soldier	15	1
973		Ferguson	Elspeth			8	1
974		McFarlane	John			8	1
975	Blair for Mochrie	Broun	James	& Co.	stationers	80	1
976	Montgomries hrs	Leslie	Arthur	vintner		200	1
977	John Dunbar	Dunbar	John		his shop	60	2
978		Hill		Mrs		50	1
979		Cumming		Miss		50	1
980	Crichton	Dolphin		Miss	with above		1
981	Wm Nicolls hrs	Young	Charles	sells ale		80	1
982	Mr Patton minstr	Dowie	Mary			50	1
983	Hays heirs	McLauchlane		Mrs		150	1
984	H Locheads hrs	Willson	George	vintner		460	1
985	N Cunningham hrs	Cunningham	Mr Alexr	Wtr Signet	his house?	180	2
986	John White	White	John	depute clerk	his house	100	2
987	Wm Berrys hrs	Carmichael	John	Baillie		180	1
988	Gabriel Napier	Napier	Gabriel		his house	180	2
989	Prov Brouns hrs	Broun		Mrs	her house	180	2
990	Alexr Broun	Tytler	William	writer		180	1
991	Sir R Forbes hrs	Preston		Lady		180	1
992	Jon Greigs hrs	Mosman		Mr		120	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
993	Wm Maxwellls hrs	Ayton	William	goldsmith		120	1
994	J Buchannan hrs	Arthur	William	sell's ale		30	1
995		Aitken	Andrew			10	1
996	Tho Fishers hrs	Simpson	Andrew	merchant		80	1
997		Smith	William	baxter		60	1
998		Arthur	Patrick	coffee	house	220	1
999		Kincaid		Baillie		200	1
1000		Tulloch		Mrs		150	1
1001	John Strachan	Dalrymple	Robert	writer		120	1
1002	Tho Tullochs hrs	Robertson	James	merchant		100	1
1003	John Dalglish	Dalglish	John	watchmaker	his house	180	1
1004	A Carmichael's hrs	Orr	John	wigmaker		80	1
1005	Thomson's hrs	Aitken	George			40	1
1006	John Grants hrs	Broun		Deacon	taylor	40	1
1007	Robert Tod	Stuart				210	1
1008		Wallace			with above		1
1009		Stratton	Robert	vintner		80	1
1010	William Keir	Stirling	James	& Co.	fishmongers	60	1
1011	George Hamilton	Willson	Robert			60	1
1012	Alex Hunter mt	Erskine		Mrs		20	1
1013		Ayton	Walter			30	1
1014		Reid	William	chairman		8	1
1015		Ross	Robert			8	1
1016	Wm Stewarts hrs	Dow	Andrew			8	1
1017		Cochran	John	mason		24	1
1018		Dougall		Mrs		30	1
1019		Cowan		printer		24	1
1020		Ayton		Mr	junior	24	1
1021		Lindsay	Agnes			6	1
1022		McNaughton	Peter			30	1
1023		Lindsay		Miss		30	1
1024		Murray		Miss	with above		1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
1025		....			posest	10	1
1026		....			posest	10	1
1027		....			posest	10	1
1028		....			posest	10	1
1029		Menzies	Alexr	wright		50	1
1030	John Cairns	Sheils	William			6	1
1031		Hunter	David			8	1
1032		Jameson		wright		40	1
1033	Robt Mylne	Hogg	James	lint dresser		50	1
1034	Hugh Wilsons hrs	Wilson	Mrs	tobacconist	her house?	60	2
1035	Mrs Wattsons hrs	Burns		Mr	writer	90	1
1036	Davd Nicolls hrs	Barlcay		Mr	turner	90	1
1037	Wm Hunters hrs	Leslie	James	writer		90	1
1038		Zeigler	George	writer		40	1
1039	Mrs Cockburn hrs	Cockburns		Miss	their house	90	2
1040		Cockburns		Miss	with above		
1041	Robt Mylne	Hogg	James			20	1
1042		Clerk	John			10	1
1043		Forrest	James			10	1
1044		Henderson	Alexr			30	1
1045		Young		writer		60	1
1046		Scrimseour		Mr	wigmaker	40	1
1047	Bryden or Armour	Campbell	Alexr	chelseaman		20	1
1048		Bryden	William		his house	40	2
1049	Porteous hrs	Wattson	George	painter		80	1
1050	Wm Thomsons hrs	Gray	John	shoemaker		20	1
1051		Skelton	John			60	1
1052		Mylne	Patrick			50	1
1053	John Meins hrs	Arbuthnot	Robert			100	1
1054		Clerk	Nathaniel			30	1
1055		Morrison	William			10	1
1056	Wm Tod junior	Tod	William	junior	his house	120	2

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
1057	Montgomerie's hrs	Balfour		Messrs		120	1
1058	Jas Armour	Armour	James	writer	his cahmber	100	2
1059	Dr Stevenson hrs	Manderston	Patrick			100	1
1060	Wallaces hrs	Steven	George			100	1
1061	Montgomerie's hrs	Blair	Patrick		coffee house	360	1
1062	J Learmonts hrs	Barlett		Mrs		50	1
1063		Muir	William	cadie		25	1
1064		Veitch	George			10	1
1065	William Nicoll	Nicoll		Mrs	their house	60	2
1066	Robt Starks hrs	Robertson		gen servant		60	1
1067		Bell		Mr	engraver	40	1
1068		Kirk		cook		16	1
1069		Symington	John	baxter		40	1
1070		Miller		widow		8	1
1071		Dewar	Andrew	guard	soldier	10	1
1072	A Lindsays hrs	Loch	John			50	1
1073	Paul Roome hrs	Maitland	ohnian			200	1
1074	Jas Balfours hrs	Crassow		Mr		160	1
1075	Hogg or Hatton	Brand	Alexr	watchmaker		80	1
1076	John Hogg	Crooks	William	soldier	town guard	15	1
1077		Fairholm	John	skinner		55	1
1078		Stewart	James			55	1
1079		Johnston	William	wigmaker		80	1
1080		Balfour	James		coffee house	350	1
1081		Muir	John	stationer	running	60	1
1082	Sir T Moncrieff hrsOswald			Mrs	coffee house	360	1
1083	John Grant	Hutton	James			60	1
1084	Mrs Broun	Millar	William			80	1
1085		Braid	John	glover		80	1
1086	Robt Fleeming	Fleeming	Robert	printer	his house	70	2
1087		Fleeming	George			30	1
1088		Stewart	Robert			16	1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax ten'
1089		Buchanan	George	printer	journeman	20. 1
1090		Gow	James	beadle		30 1
1091		McLarin	Donald	guard	soldier	14 1
1092	J Marshalls hrs	Dickson		Mrs		50 1
1093		Tough		Mr	perfumer	50 1
1094		Moodie	Alexr	wright		30 1
1095		Clerk	John	glazier		30 1
1096		Saunders	printer	journeyman		30 1
1097		Wyllie	Mr		schoolmaster	36 1
1098		Gray	James			30 1
1099	Pearsons hrs	Paterson	Thomas	widow	with above	1 1
1100		McFarquhar				8 1
1101		Aitkinhead				16 1
1102		Guthrie			with above	1 1
1103		Daes	Mary			10 1
1104	John Hogg	McIndlay	Daniel			10 1
1105	Hamilton of Olvstb	Pollock	James			15 1
1106		Loch	John		coffee house	245 1
1107		Webster	Elizabeth			30 1
1108		Stevenson	Andrew			60 1
1109	G Rotson's hrs	Scott	John	candlemaker		50 1
1110	Geo Nicolls hrs	Milligan	John	merchant		180 1
1111	J Ferguson hrs	Hamilton	William	bookseller		100 1
1112	David Fifes hrs	Bowman	William			30 1
1113	Thomas Fairholm	Fairholm	John	skinner		30 1
1114		Shore	John	whipmaker		30 1
1115		Steel	John	watchmaker		90 1
1116		Hamilton	William			50 1
1117		Stevenson	Samuel	merchant		90 1
1118		Stewart	Alexr		billiard tab.	80 1
1119		Gilles	Mrs			70 1
1120		Elliot	Mr		writer	70 1

APPENDIX SEVEN

location	landlord	surname	forename	title	notes	tax	ten'
1121	John Inglis hrs	Fleeming	Robert			100	1
1122	John Wattson	Duff	Peter	Mr	Wtr Signet	80	1
1123	Chas Inglis hrs	Robertson	John	vintner		160	1
1124	Thos Inglis hrs	Forbes	Daniel	writer		100	1
1125	David Reids hrs	Grant	Lewis	writer		100	1
1126	Rd Chalmers hrs	Chalmers		Mrs	their house	100	2
1127	Jas Davidson	Dundas	Thomas			8	1
1128	Patk Blairs hrs	Malice	John	sells ale		60	1
1129	Kinnier for Loch	Duncan	John			10	1
1130		Ferguson	Charles	writer		35	1
1131	J Clelland hrs	Ker	James	sheriff officer		26	1
1132		McLean	Robert			8	1
1133		Brymer	William			8	1
1134	Geo Wrights hrs	English	John	officer	Dean of Guild	30	1
1135		Duncan		Mrs		10	1
1136		Petters	Walter	printer		30	1
1137		McBride		Mrs		5	1
1138		Ruglen	Mary			10	1
1139		Coupland		widow		10	1
1140		Frazer	Jean			10	1
1141		Robertson	Margaret			10	1
1142		Reid	Ann			20	1
1143		Alexander	John			10	1
1144	Tho Crombie hrs	Patterson	David			100	1
1145	Pat Crawford hrs	Jameson	John	merchant		150	1
1146		Pettiness	William			120	1
1147		Pettiness	Andrew		with above		1
1148		Muir	Joseph			140	1
1149 on Lochside	H Hepburns hrs	Watson	Adam	tanner		36	1
1150 on Lochside	And Johnston hrs	Russell	Robert	merchant		30	1